

LIBRARY OF
EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ALLAHABAD.

JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS.
OF
THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

VOL. LIV.

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JOURNAL OF
THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
The Victoria Institute,

OR,
Philosophical Society of Great Britain.

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1922.

PREFACE.

In many ways other than by wireless, opinions—some of them of value and some otherwise—may be broadcasted upon the world; and in recent decades various forms of error have thus been propagated, and in some cases have gained a long start of the truth.

There are probably few methods of demonstrating truth and combating error, whether in science or philosophy, in morality or religion, so effective as free discussion. The Victoria Institute affords a platform for such discussion, and during a long course of years has promoted means whereby truth has been searched out and error exposed, especially in regard to questions that bear upon revealed religion and affect the higher life of mankind.

During the Session recently closed, papers have been read on subjects of profound importance; and according to custom, advance copies of such papers have been circulated among supporters of the Institute, in order to ensure purposeful debate of the issues raised. The present volume gives the text of the papers, and summaries of the discussions that followed.

Christian students who, on grounds of principle, are accustomed to "prove all things" for themselves have no fear when confronted with Higher Critical claims in regard to the Bible, nor do they hesitate to meet in open conflict the apologist for materialistic theories. A determination to "hold fast that which is good" is found to go a long way, when thoughtful men join

issue in serious debate. And the Members and Associates of the Institute are satisfied that much profit to sound thinking has come out of the work which has been fostered by the organisation since its foundation in 1865.

The Presidency of the Institute, rendered vacant by the death of the Earl of Halsbury, has been accepted by the Very Reverend Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, one of the oldest Members, and a much-honoured Vice-President and Trustee. The difficulties of the times have occasioned the loss of many supporters; but new helpers are being welcomed from month to month. If the importance of the service rendered by the Institute to the cause of progressive thought in the interest of Revealed Religion were more generally appreciated, these accessions of new Members and Associates would greatly increase, and prove a continual cause of encouragement to the Council in its labours "to the greater Glory of God."

F. A. MOLONY,

Editor.

November, 1922.

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VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1921.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 15TH, 1922.

1. *Progress of the Institute.*

The Council of the Institute, in presenting the 53rd Annual Report to the Members and Associates, are thankful to God to be able to report another year of encouraging work. The meetings have been numerous attended and the discussions well sustained. Proving that the papers read have been up to the standard of past years, and have made effective appeal to those interested in the special work of the Society.

The year has been marked, amongst other things, by an event which has only occurred to the Institute twice before in its history of over fifty years, the much regretted death of its President. The late Earl of Halsbury had occupied this post with distinction for 18 years, and under his leadership the Victoria Institute has traversed, we trust with increased usefulness, this long period, including the difficult years of the war. As an obituary notice will be found in the Transactions for the year, it will not be necessary to add more here, except to say that the Council are thankful to be able to announce that the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, a Vice-President of the Society, and long actively associated with its work, has yielded to their unanimous invitation and accepted the post of President, in the place of the late Earl.

2. *Meetings.*

Twelve ordinary meetings were held during the year 1921.
The papers were—

“The Psychology of Man, Experimentally Considered,” by
DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY, Esq., M.D.

Lt.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, D.S.O. in the Chair.

“Some Reflections on how Empire came to us, and can alone
be conserved,” by the Rt. Rev. Bishop E. G. INGHAM, D.D.

Alfred W. Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., in the Chair.

“Motherhood,” by AMAND ROUTT, Esq., M.D.

Dr. Mary D. Scharlieb, C.B.E., in the Chair.

"Prophecy," by Lt.-Colonel F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E.

W. Hoste, Esq., B.A., in the Chair.

"Public School Education," by the Rev. H. COSTLEY WHITE, M.A., Head Master of Westminster School.

Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., in the Chair.

"Joshua's Long Day," by E. WALTER MAUNDER, Esq., F.R.A.S. (With Lantern Illustrations.)

Lt.-Colonel Henry Smith, C.I.E., I.M.S., in the Chair.

"Fetichism in Central Africa and elsewhere," by W. HOSTE, Esq., B.A.

D. Anderson-Berry, Esq., M.D., LL.D., in the Chair.

"Religion in Mesopotamia, and its Relation to the Prospects of Eastern Christendom," by the Rev. Canon J. T. PARFIT, M.A.

Major General Sir George K. Scott-Moncrieff, K.C.B., in the Chair.

"The Tripartite Nature of Man," by the Rev. JAMES GOSSET-TANNER, M.A.

The Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, M.A., in the Chair.

"The Date of Daniel," by the Rev. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A., D.D.

Prof. T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., in the Chair.

"The Roman Wall in North Britain," by the Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, M.A. (With lantern illustrations.)

William Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., in the Chair.

ANNUAL ADDRESS. "The Old Testament and the Present State of Criticism," by the Very Rev. H. WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

Alfred T. Schofield, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

3. *The Journal of Transactions*

was issued in December. The papers themselves are published in full, with transcripts of the remarks of Members and others taking part in the discussion. It would be in place here to notice the retirement of Dr. Alfred T. Schofield, Chairman of Council, from the post of Honorary Editor of the Transactions, which he has most ably filled. The best thanks of the Institute are due to Dr. Schofield for the good and exacting work thus accomplished. The Council are glad to be able to announce that Lt.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E. (late R.E.), a Member of Council, has consented to fill the vacant post, which is quite honorary and entails a considerable expenditure of time and thought.

4. Council and Officers.

The following is the List of the Council and Officers for the year 1922:—

President.

The Very Rev. H. Wace, M.A., D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
 Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S.
 Rev. Prebendary Fox, M.A.
 Lt.-Col. George Mackinlay, late R.A.
 Alfred T. Schofield, Esq., M.D., *Chairman of Council.*
 Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc. (*the late*).

Honorary Treasurer.

George Anthony King, Esq., M.A.

Honorary Editor of the Journal.

Lt.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E.

Honorary Secretary, Papers Committee.

Lt.-Col. Hope Biddulph, D.S.O.

Honorary Secretary.

William Hoste, Esq., B.A.

Council.

(*In Order of Original Election*).

Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A.
 Prof. T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S.
 Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., F.L.S.
 Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon, D.D.
 Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.
 J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
 Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M.,
Deputy Chairman.
 R. W. Dibdin, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 H. Lance Gray, Esq.
 John Clarke Dick, Esq., M.A.

William Hoste, Esq., B.A.
 Alfred H. Burton, Esq., B.A., M.D., C.M.
 Ernest W. G. Masterman, Esq., F.R.C.S.
 Theodore Roberts, Esq.
 Lt.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E., late R.E.
 Lt.-Col. Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., late R.F.A.
 Col. C. W. R. St. John, late R.E.
 W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S.
 D. Anderson-Berry, Esq., M.D., LL.D.
 Major H. Pelham-Burn, late Rifle Brigade.
 George Anthony King, Esq., M.A.

Auditor.

E. Luff Smith, Esq. (Incorporated Accountant).

Secretary.

Mr. A. E. Montague.

5. Election of Council and Officers.

In accordance with the rules the following Members of the Council retire by rotation—

Dr. Thirtle,
 E. J. Sewell, Esq.,
 A. W. Oke, Esq.,
 R. W. Dibdin, Esq.,
 W. Hoste, Esq.,
 Dr. A. H. Burton,

and all except Mr. E. J. Sewell offer themselves and are nominated by the Council for re-election, also the Auditor, Mr. Luff Smith, who being eligible, offers himself for re-election.

The Election of Dr. Anderson-Berry, Major Pelham-Burn and George Anthony King, Esq., M.A. as Members of Council is recommended to the Meeting for Confirmation.

6. *Obituary.*

The Council regret to announce the deaths of the following Members and Associates:—

B. Alhurst, Esq., William Barnett, Esq., F.R.A.S., T. B. Bishop, Esq., Member of Council, Rev. Camden M. Cobern, D.D., The Rev. Canon G. Crewdson, M.A., Dr. Alston Ellis, J. A. Gosset, Esq., Alfred Haigh, Esq., The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Halsbury, P.C., F.R.S., President of the Institute, C. A. Hington, Esq., M.D., Dr. John Hoskin, K.C., The Rev. A. Irving, D.Sc. The Rev. Canon H. Newton, M.A., Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., Vice-President of the Institute, The Rev. T. M. B. Paterson, Sir George J. Smith, D.L., J.P., J. P. Stilwell, Esq., J.P., Edward P. Vining, Esq., LL.D., H. J. M. de Vismes, Esq., H. S. Williams, Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S.

7. *New Members and Associates.*

The following are the names of new Members and Associates elected up to the end of the year 1921:—

MEMBERS.—Brig. General H. R. Adair, A. T. Babbs, Esq., F.S.I., The Rev. J. A. Brunberg, B.D., The Rev. J. Russell Howden, B.D., T. B. Hunter, Esq., O.B.E., M.I.C.E., E. A. McGill, Esq., M. Sc., A.M.I.C.E., The Ven. Archdeacon J. P. Kempthorne, Miss C. Nelson-Smith, Lt.-Colonel Sir Charles J. Owens, C.B., W. H. Pibel, Esq., F.S.A., Mrs. Adelaide E. Piesse, Colonel Charles W. R. St. John, John Sterry, Esq., George Wilson, Esq., Dr. Louis E. Wood.

ASSOCIATES.—O. M. Alger, Esq., J. G. Althouse, Esq., Miss K. M. Beresford, Colonel H. Biddulph, C.M.G., D.S.O., The Rev. J. W. Bowman, B.D., Mrs. E. Blackie, Mrs. B. Carr-Harris, Mrs. H. V. de Satge, James Dunn, Esq., Cyril A. Dyer, Esq., W. H. Frizell, Esq., M.A., J.P., The Rev. Charles Garratt, H. M. Gilchrist, Esq., The Rev. G. E. Henderson, D.D., Major H. J. Holness, R.A.V.C., Mrs. W. R. Houghton, Sir Robert Kennedy, K.C.M.G., D.L., J.P., Lieut. Louis Smetham Lee, Ronald Macgregor, Esq., J. H. Manuel, Esq., Pastor F. E. Marsh, Miss M. Mayhew, The Rev. A. E. C. Morgan, M.A., The Rev. W. E. Oswald Parry, Ellis T. Powell, Esq., D.Sc., LL.B., Lt.-Col. A. H. D. Riach, R.E., F.B. Rockstro, Esq., M.D., B.D., The Rev. W. E. Rowlands, M.A., W. G. Walters, Esq., The Rev. W. E. W. Wycliffe-Jones, M.A., Dr. J. A. Witsoe.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.—The Most Rev. The Archbishop of Melbourne.

8. *Number of Members and Associates.*

The following statement shows the number of supporters of the Institute at the end of December, 1921:—

Life Members	...	...	...	...	13
Annual Members	...	...	...	...	95
Life Associates	...	...	...	...	55
Annual Associates	...	...	...	...	243
Missionary Associates	...	...	...	...	18
Library Associates	...	...	...	...	29
Total	...	...	...	...	453

shewing a decrease of twelve, a slight reduction on the previous year, which was abnormally fruitful in addition to our ranks.

9. *Finance.*

The financial condition of the Institute still engages the attention of the Council. As a Society we feel the effects of the commercial depression in the City and the Country at large. Indeed some of our Members and Associates, from no waning interest in the objects and work of the Institute, but in order to retrench, have been obliged to resign their Membership, which, with losses through death, fully accounts for the small decrease in our Numbers noted above, in spite of an increase of nearly fifty new names to our list. The Council are adopting measures to lessen our printing expenses, which last year amounted to £424 odd, but fear that they will have once more to make a special appeal to their supporters to tide them over the present time of stress, which all hope and believe to be only temporary. Our Treasurer for some years past, Mr. Arthur W. Sutton, J.P., F.L.S., Member of Council, has found himself obliged, for reasons of health, to resign his post. The best thanks of the Council are due to him for all his kind interest and help in the work of the Institute, and they express their hope that he will soon be able to take his place with them once more at Council Meetings. Mr. George A. King, M.A. has kindly consented to fill the vacant post.

10. *Special Donations.*

The following special donations have been received: Miss F. Helen Freeman, £2 2s.; The Venerable Archdeacon J. P. Kempthorne, £10; and Miss Caroline Tindall, £1 1s.

11.

The sale of "Tracts for New Times" has continued to give satisfaction. The Council has just issued a reprint of No. 5 "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament," by the Rev. Parke P. FLOURNOY, D.D., the supply of which was exhausted. They have also issued three new Tracts forming Nos. 7, 8 and 9 of the series:—

- 7.—"Modern Unrest and the Bible," by Sir ANDREW WINGATE, K.C.I.E.
- 8.—"The Attitude of Science towards Miracles," by the late Prof. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc. (being the Gurning Prize for 1909)
- 9.—"The Old Testament and the Present State of Criticism," by the Very Rev. H. WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

Tract No. 5 has been translated into Portuguese for the Brazilians, and Slavic for the Czechslovakians and Slavs. It is now being translated into Chinese by Dr. H. M. Woods of the American Chinese Mission.

12. Conclusion.

In conclusion, the Council are persuaded that as the years go by, the need for such a work as that of the Victoria Institute becomes no less urgent. Our Society stands for "investigation" it is true, but "investigation in a reverent spirit." If, as one of our Vice-Presidents, the late Dr. Handley Moule of Durham, wrote,* these conclusions (*i.e.* the negations of Modernism) are demanded by irrefutable fact let them be made and accepted. But not (I repeat) light-heartedly, and as if we were the freer for them and could talk glibly about them in the best modern style. Let us make them with a groan and take care to carve no more unauthentic promise on the tomb of our beloved . . . The matter is one, where, while the fairness of controversy must be guarded, as ever, its mere courtesies may not always be in place. For the question is of tremendous urgency. "We are contending for our all." These weighty words apply to other phases of contemporary thought, besides the theological. We share the faith of the learned bishop that the victory lies, not with those who would destroy faith, but with those who would establish it, "For we can do nothing against the truth but for the truth."

Signed on behalf of the Council

H. WACE, D.D.,

President.

* Preface to "The Bible and Modern Criticism" p. x, by Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.E.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT for the year ended 31st December, 1921.

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent, Light, Cleaning and H	of Lecture						
Room	...	77	11	0			
Salary	...	203	16	7			
" National Insurance	...	1	1	8			
" Life Assurance	...	2	9	0			
" Printing and Stationery	...	424	11	8			
" Expenses of Meetings	...	4	18	0			
" Postages	...	48	18	3			
" Audit Fee	...	3	3	0			
" Fire Insurance	...	0	12	0			
" Bank Charges and Sundries	...	2	3	2			
					769	4	4
					<u>£769</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
INCOME.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions—							
88 Members @ £2	2 0	...	184	16	0		
237 Associates @ £1	1 0	...	248	17	0		
Proportion of Life Subscriptions	...	...	3	3	0		
					436	16	0
" Dividends received, less Tax	...	...	8	15	0		
" Income Tax recovered	...	...	3	15	0		
" Sale of Publications	...	...			
					12	10	0
					65	8	1
					<u>514</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1</u>
" Balance being excess of Expenditure over							
" Income for the year 1921	...	...			254	10	3
					<u>£769</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>

BALANCE SHEET.

XV

I have examined the foregoing Balance Sheet with the Cash Book and vouchers of the Victoria Institute and certify that it is correctly made up therefrom. I have verified the Cash Balances and Investments. A valuation of the Library and Furniture has not been taken.

E. LUFF SMITH,
Incorporated Accountant.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B., THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, MAY 15th, 1922, AT 3 P.M.

ALFRED W. OKE, Esq., B.A., LL.M., Vice-Chairman of
Council,

TOOK THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN called on the Honorary Secretary to read the notice convoking the meeting, and then to read the minutes of the last meeting, held on Monday, April 18th, which were confirmed and signed. The Chairman then proposed that, as the report was in the hands of the meeting, it should be taken as read, and Mr. E. Luff Smith, the auditor, was called upon to explain the Financial Report. While expressing a reasonable hope that Mr. Lance Gray, Member of Council, would be able to effect some economies in the expenditure, he emphasised the fact that the financial position of the Institute was unsatisfactory, and must be put on a more satisfactory basis.

The CHAIRMAN then moved the adoption of the Report. He referred to the great loss the Institute had sustained in the death of the Earl of Halsbury, but voiced the gratification of the Council in obtaining, as his successor, the Dean of Canterbury, whose many lectures, years ago, the Chairman had attended.

Reference was also made, with regret, to the retirement of Mr. Arthur W. Sutton, Treasurer for many years, also to that of Mr. E. J. Sewell, long a member of Council, both on account of ill-health, and to the death of a Vice-President, Professor H.

Langhorne Orchard, whose interest in the work of the Institute had been long and deep. The Chairman announced that his daughter, Mrs. H. E. Cooper, along with her husband, the Rev. H. E. Cooper, proposed to found a Triennial Prize in memory of the Professor, open to Members and Associates.

The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the small decrease of twelve in the numbers of Members and Associates, and expressed a hope that we might make every effort to raise our numbers to 500 during the present year.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Lieut.-Colonel A. S. Roberts, and passed by those present.

Lieut.-Colonel HOPE BIDDULPH proposed the preparation of a budget for the coming year, which Mr. E. Luff Smith said was quite feasible. A discussion ensued, in which Messrs. H. Lance Gray, E. Harrison and others joined, as to a possible reduction in expenditure owing to a decrease in the cost of printing and paper. Colonel Biddulph suggested that much might be done through judicious advertisement, in such a way that the prestige of the Society should not suffer, but its influence be spread.

The second Resolution was proposed by Mr. HENRY P. RUDD, and seconded by Mr. W. E. LESLIE:—

“ That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Council Officers and Auditor for their efficient conduct of the business of the Victoria Institute during the year.”

This was carried.

Reference was also made by the Honorary Secretary and Lieut.-Colonel Biddulph to the good work of the Secretary, Mr. A. E. Montague.

It was then proposed by the CHAIRMAN, and seconded by Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY, that the Very Rev. H. Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, be elected President, and that retiring

members of Council, Dr. James W. Thirtle, Mr. A. W. Oke, Mr. R. W. Dibdin, Mr. W. Hoste, and Dr. A. H. Burton, be re-elected, and that Dr. D. Anderson-Berry, and Major H. Pelham Burn be elected members of Council, and that Mr George Anthony King, M.A., be elected Treasurer in the place of Mr. Arthur W. Sutton, and member of Council.

After Lieut-Colonel MACKINLAY had made kind references to each of the above, the motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. W. E. LESLIE, seconded by Mr. W. Hoste, Mr. E. Luff Smith was re-elected as Auditor for the current year at a fee of three guineas.

The fourth Resolution was proposed by Mr. LESLIE and seconded by Mr. Hoste:—

“That the cordial thanks of this meeting be passed to the Chairman, Mr. A. W. Oke, for presiding on this occasion.”

This was agreed upon unanimously.

Victoria Institute.

THE LATE EARL OF HALSBURY.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

The Victoria Institute was founded in 1865 by the late Lord Shaftesbury: on the day after its inauguration he wrote these words in his diary:—

“ May 25th.—Yesterday took chair at Inaugural Meeting of Victoria Institute. I dare, as it were, to take Heaven by storm, and assume that God, for His blessed Son's sake, will prosper and advance this Institute, founded, as it is, to show the necessary, eternal and Divine harmony between true Science and Revelation.”

The Institute grew and flourished under his guidance until his death in December, 1885; in the following year Sir George Gabriel Stokes, President of the Royal Society, was elected our President, and remained with us till his death in 1903, when Lord Halsbury, whose death we now mourn, took his place. It is remarkable that when our late President accepted the unanimous invitation of the Council of the Victoria Institute, he was also Lord Chancellor, but though occupying such an exalted and onerous position in public life, and though busily engaged in politics and in writing a very comprehensive book on the laws of England, and though past four score years when he became our President, he nevertheless took up his duties with us with much energy, so highly did he value the usefulness of our Institute in influencing the thought of the educated people of our land. He was by no means a mere figurehead. He carefully examined and signed each of our Annual Reports, he frequently presided at Council meetings, and also when papers were read before the whole Institute. He was an ideal Chairman, as might well be expected of one who had occupied the Woolsack for a very considerable number of years; he was dignified and alert, and with an attractive vein of humour, which always put us at our ease.

He spoke out fully against some of the fallacies of the day, the Christian Scientist and the Modernist Professor both came in for his pointed criticism; for instance, he spoke of the latter in these words (June 21st, 1915): “ He cannot be contradicted or brought to book. If anyone brings forward an argument on the other side, the Professor says that his opponent has made a mistake; but, being a Professor, he does not consider himself obliged to substantiate even this assertion.”

As lately as the summer of 1919, he had promised to give the Annual Address, but much against his will, he was compelled to relinquish his plan, owing to physical weakness; some months later, only a short time before the end of his life, he sent in his resignation, as he said that at his great age (he was then nearly 97 years old) he could not conscientiously fulfil the duties of his post, and he could no longer attend personally. The Council replied that they quite understood his position, but they much hoped that he would still remain President of the Institute, even if unable to attend personally, as he was known for so many years in connection with the Victoria Institute, and the retention of his name as President would greatly help our work. He graciously and kindly acceded to our request, on the distinct understanding that it was to be on the arrangements proposed by the Council.

Thus, it will be seen how earnestly and how faithfully Lord Halsbury carried out his duties, beginning at the very commencement of his Presidential career and steadfastly continuing up to the end of his long life.

The last part of our late President's term of office embraced the anxious years of the Great War, and of the first three years of the Armistice, and our Institute experienced a full share of the difficulties which fell to the lot of all; but our President's support and help were unflinching during all that trying period, and he proved himself to be a friend to us indeed. Lord Halsbury was also a Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and President of the local branch in South Kensington.

The Earl of Halsbury's contributions to the history of our country on legal and political lines are well known, and need not further be referred to now, except to emphasise the steadfast goodness which he displayed, while immersed in so many great responsibilities, in devoting so much of his valuable time to the furtherance of the work of the Victoria Institute.

— We thank God for his leadership, and we shall remember him with gratitude.

635TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 5TH, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

PROFESSOR T. G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following Members and Associates since the last Meeting:—Dr. Louis E. Wood, John Sterry, Esq., Sir Charles J. Owens, C.B., the Rev. Russell J. Howden, B.D., E. A. McGill, Esq., M.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., the Rev. J. A. Brunberg, D.D., A. T. Babbs, Esq., F.S.I., and Archdeacon J. P. Kempthorne as Members, and Major Holness, R.A.V.C., O. M. Alger, Esq., J. G. Althouse, Esq., C. A. Dyer, Esq., H. M. Gilchrist, Esq., J. H. Manuel, Esq., Mrs. Bertha Carr-Harris, the Rev. W. E. Rowlands, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, Sir Robert J. Kennedy, K.C.M.G., James Dunn, Esq., Pastor F. E. Marsh, the Rev. W. E. Oswald Parry, and the Rev. Charles Garratt as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Andrew Craig Robinson, M.A., to read his paper on "Darius the Median and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon in the Light of the Cuneiform Inscriptions."

*DARIUS THE MEDIAN AND THE CYROPAEDIA OF
XENOPHON IN THE LIGHT OF THE CUNEIFORM
INSCRIPTIONS.* By the REV. ANDREW CRAIG ROBINSON,
M.A.

CHARLES ROLLIN, a distinguished French historian, composed a work, entitled *Histoire Ancienne* (published in Paris in twelve volumes, 1730-1738), which attained wide celebrity, and was translated into English and many other languages besides. In commencing his history of Cyrus, Rollin wrote as follows:—

"The history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging

him more worthy of credit on this subject than the former; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient to briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians; with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of that prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself in the beginning of his *Cyropaedia*. He says, 'Having always looked on this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure of informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.' "

Rollin goes on:—

"As to what Cicero says in his first letter to his brother Quintus: 'That Xenophon's design in writing the history of Cyrus was not so much to follow truth as to give a model of a just government'; this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian" (Xenophon) "or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from that is that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the art of reigning, and in gaining the love of their subjects notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates is to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the Holy Scripture is itself a sufficient proof."

Rollin's *Histoire Ancienne* was published in Paris, as already mentioned, in the years 1730-1738; and when after that date a little more than a hundred years had passed away—that is to say

about the year 1846—it came to pass, that the great Behistun Rock Inscription of Darius Hysdaspes was decyphered by Rawlinson. In that great achievement of scholarship and patience was signalized the resurrection from the buried past of a *Histoire Ancienne* indeed—the cuneiform records of Babylonia and Assyria. How brilliantly those records—which, when Rollin wrote, were utterly unknown to the learned world of his day—have vindicated his judgment on the historical character of the Cyropaedia, I hope to lay before you, and to discuss the consequent bearing of this circumstance on the questions involved in regard to “Darius the Median.”

In Daniel 5, 31, occur the words :—

“And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.”

Dr. Driver—following the line taken by many other critics—makes an elaborate attempt, in his commentary on the Book of Daniel, to represent the Writer of the Book as being obsessed with the idea, that the reign of an independent Median king—Darius the Median—interposed between the conquest of Babylon and the reign of Cyrus. The vision of Daniel, however, contained in the 8th chapter, would seem to clearly show that the idea before the writer’s mind was not that of a Median King succeeded by a Persian—but of a united Medo-Persian Empire. This is shown by the symbolism. We read in the 12th verse :—

“The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the Kings of Media and Persia.”

Dr. Driver contended that one of the horns—the one lower than the other—represented a Median kingdom, coming after the Babylonian, and followed and superseded by a Persian. But this would not agree with the symbolism. For the ram is *one*: symbolizing the *one* united empire, the Medo-Persian of history; the horns are *two*, symbolizing *two* kings and the *two* nations of which the one empire was composed—the Medes and Persians. The rough goat of the vision—the King of Grecia, Alexander the Great—breaks *both* the horns of the ram. Alexander, as history tells us, brought to an end the united Medo-Persian empire; but it was certainly not Alexander that

brought to an end the distinct and independent kingdom of Media—for that kingdom had passed away, by amalgamation with the kingdom of Persia, some two hundred years before Alexander the Great was born.

By the symbolism of this vision, then, it would appear that the writer of the Book of Daniel regarded the Medes and Persians united; which, of course, they were; and the four great Kingdoms signified in the vision of Daniel were: The Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. The same Four Kingdoms are signified in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, whilst the prophecy of that Kingdom which in the days of those kings the God of heaven should set up—which should never be destroyed, but should stand for ever—was the kingdom of the Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ.

“So be it, Lord; Thy throne shall never,
Like earth's proud empires, pass away;
But stand, and rule, and grow for ever,
Till all Thy creatures own Thy sway.”

Nor is it only from the symbolism of the vision that it appears that the writer of the Book of Daniel regarded the Medes and Persians as united, but it is also evident from the expression which so frequently occurs, “according to the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.” In the 6th chapter, containing the episode of the den of lions—a chapter very particularly concerned with Darius the Mede—the expression occurs three times, being once used by Darius himself, and another time by his courtiers, when they finally compelled the King to bend to their wishes, by the words, “Know, O King, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.”

And it is a remarkable circumstance—noticed long ago by Dr. Pusey—that in the Book of Esther, where also the two names occur linked together, the order of the names is reversed. In the Book of Daniel, it is, “the law of the Medes and Persians,” whilst in the Book of Esther it is “the laws of the Persians and the Medes” (Esth., i, 19). Compare Esth. i, 3, “the power of Persia and Media,” ver. 14, “the seven princes of Persia and Media”; and ver. 18, “the ladies of Persia and Media.” That is to say, the Book of Daniel, written—so it is contended in this

paper—in the Age of Cyrus, when the Kingdom of Media, in close union with Persia, was still a living thing, has the form “Medes and Persians”; whilst the Book of Esther, written in later times, after the reign of Xerxes, when the supremacy of the Persians had overshadowed the Medes—has the form “Persians and Medes.” Yet there is one passage in the Book of Esther in which what seems to be the more ancient style is used, and that is in the last chapter of the Book, where the chronicles of the united empire are in question—chronicles going back no doubt to the older time, and here the expression is in the reverse order—“are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia?” (Esth. x, 2).

When the Medes and Persians come before us after the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire, we find them standing in a very peculiar position towards each other—almost on terms of equality, and yet the Persians somewhat superior to the Medes, owing, it would seem, chiefly to the pre-eminent genius and personality of Cyrus. How did this rather anomalous state of things come about? Three different accounts have come down to us from the Greek classical authors.

There is the account of Ctesias, as preserved in a fragment of Nicoläus of Damascus, according to which Cyrus was the son of a robber, named Atradates, whilst his mother, who was named Argosté, made her living by keeping goats. Cyrus, according to this story, after serving in various menial capacities in the household of Astyages, King of Media, became eventually his cup-bearer. Having been sent on some expedition or other by Astyages, he treacherously turned the occasion into an opportunity of stirring up the Persians—who in the story are supposed to have been subject to the Medes—to rise in revolt. Astyages marched against the rebels; but the final battle that was fought ended in a decisive victory for the Persians; no less than 60,000 Medes having been slain. In the rout which ensued, the King of the Medes was taken prisoner, and Cyrus was saluted by the victorious army, King of Media and Persia.

But, surely, in face of the Cuneiform Inscriptions which have placed on record the royal descent and kingly ancestors of Cyrus, this story of a Cyrus—son of a robber and a goat-herd—himself a menial in the household of Astyages, need not really detain us for a moment. And with this absolute ignorance on the part of Ctesias as to Cyrus being a royal prince, the whole story,

which so depends upon it, would seem to pass away—of battles fought and countless Medjans slain.

And this would seem a convenient place to draw attention to the Inscriptions referred to, which place the royal descent of Cyrus beyond possibility of doubt. One of the Inscriptions of the time of the fall of Babylon, the Cylinder of Cyrus (*Brit. Mus.* 12049), proclaims his royal pedigree, set forth in the following style:—

“I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the quarters four, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of Anšan, descendant of Teispes, the great king, king of Anšan, eternal seed of royalty, of whom Bel and Nabu love the reign, and for the delight of their hearts desired his kingdom.”

There is a short inscription on the ruins at Murghab, the remains probably of the tomb of Cyrus the Great—repeated four times, containing words:—

“*Adam Kurush Khshayathiya Hakhamanishiya*” (translated: “I am Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenian”). Rawlinson, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x, part 2, p. 270.

This royal descent of Cyrus, recorded on the Cyrus Cylinder and in the inscriptions of Cyrus at Murghab, is confirmed by the royal pedigree of his kinsman Darius the son of Hysdaspes, contained in the great rock inscription the “Behistun Inscription of Darius.” There Cyrus is referred to as “of our race,” and Cyrus and Darius are shown to have had the same ancestor Teispes, son of Achaemenes, on which account Darius says, “we have been called Achaemenians,” and he declares that there were eight of his race who had been kings before him, and that he was the ninth.

And the royal descent of Cyrus is further shown by the title which is given to him in an inscription of Nabonīdus, King of Babylon, drawn up, as it would seem, some fourteen years before the Fall of Babylon, in which Cyrus is mentioned as “King of Anšan.” This inscription will be referred to again in another connection.

It will be seen, then, that a knowledge on the one hand, or ignorance on the other, that Cyrus was the son of a king, constitutes one of the "acid tests"—as they may be called—which by means of the Cuneiform Inscriptions are to be applied to the classical narrators of the life of Cyrus. Under this test the story which has come down from Ctesias, and all later accounts which reiterate his fable, are shown to be absolutely untrue.

Then there is the account which has come down from Herodotus—that incorrigible *raconteur* of fantastic and sometimes repulsive tales—who seems never to have thought an incident which he related as serious history to be quite satisfactory if it did not include some very good story. Unfortunately, however, these good stories were too often accepted by the ancient world *au grand sérieux* and became in time firmly embedded in a nation's history. In this case his story is that the mother of Cyrus was—not Argosté, a goat-herd, but—Mandané, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media. Astyages, having learned from the interpretation of a dream that a son who should be born from his daughter would overthrow all Asia, sought to avoid the danger, and defeat the prophecy, by giving his daughter to a Persian named Cambyses, a man of good family. Being afterwards terrified by another dream, he sent for his daughter from Persia, and as soon as Cyrus was born he commanded Harpagus, one of his most trusted ministers of state, to take the child to his own house and kill it. Harpagus, however, instead of killing the child himself, sent for one of the herdsmen of Astyages, and told him that it was the King's command that he should lay the child in the most desolate place in the mountains where it might perish in the shortest time. The herdsman, whose name was Mitradates—a name suspiciously like the Atradates of Ctesias—brought the child, who was dressed in royal splendour, to his humble home, and then, at the suggestion of his wife, who had given birth to a dead child, the dead infant was dressed in the royal robes of Cyrus, and brought to Harpagus in proof that the King's command had been performed. But the herdsman and his wife brought up Cyrus as their own son. When he was ten years old, however, circumstances occurred which caused him to be recognised by Astyages as his daughter's son. The King was greatly incensed with Harpagus for not having killed the child, but concealing his anger, he invited him to a banquet, and revenged himself upon him in a most revolting fashion, by

having his son served up to him at table. Cyrus was sent off to his parents in Persia, but when he came to man's estate, Harpagus, mindful of the brutal outrage which Astyages had perpetrated on him many years before, stirred up the spirit of the youthful Cyrus to excite the Persians to rebel against the Medes. They rose in revolt, and, commanded by Cyrus, took the field. King Astyages, with the Medians, marched against them; but, as if blinded by fate, he appointed Harpagus to command his army, who in secret was his deadly enemy. The battle which ensued was disastrous to Astyages: some of his soldiers deserted to the Persians, but the greater part of his army took to flight. Astyages was taken prisoner, the Medes became the subjects of the Persians, and the victorious Cyrus was made their king.

Here it will be seen that Herodotus also—when his story is compared with the Cuneiform Inscriptions—is at fault in regard to the parentage of Cyrus; although he is not so much astray as Ctesias—for he at least makes the mother of Cyrus—Mandané—to have been a royal princess, and correctly states the name of his father to have been Cambyses, but does not know he was a king, and says that he was merely “a Persian of good family, and of a quiet disposition,” Astyages, he says, “considering him much beneath a Median man of middle rank.” And, moreover, he also correctly names even the father of that Cambyses, in the incident where he relates that the servant of Astyages, in handing the infant Cyrus to the herdsman to be made away with, tells him that the infant is the son of Mandané, the daughter of Astyages, and Cambyses, *son of Cyrus* (Herod. i. 3). Yet Herodotus all the while is completely unaware that both Cyrus and Cambyses, of whom he is speaking, i.e. the grandfather and the father of Cyrus the Great, had been—both of them in succession—Kings: as a matter of fact, Kings of Anšan. This misconception on the part of Herodotus, at the very start, in regard to the real position of Cyrus, is fatal, and makes his whole narrative a tissue of unreality and false tradition; though, after his own inimitable fashion, he has decked the story out with many a sensational and dramatic scene.

A revolt of the Persians against the Medes, resulting in a decisive victory for the Persians, forms, it will be seen, the climax of the narratives of Ctesias and Herodotus alike. On what tradition does this war between the Medes and Persians

rest? It seems to rest on a tradition which confused the Medes—who were of Aryan race—with a completely distinct people named the Manda, who were of Scythian origin. The name of the capital city of each people was the same—Ekbatana—and each of the people had a king of the same name, Istuvegu or Astyages.

• Professor Sayce writes:—

• “It is startling to find that Istuvegu or Astyages was king not of the Medes but of the Manda. The name of Manda was applied by the Babylonians and Assyrians to the nomad tribes who at times threatened their eastern and northern borders. . . . It would seem that the Manda of Ekbatana were the Scythians of classical history.” *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 519, 520.

Professor Sayce goes on to say—

“Totally distinct from the Manda were the Mada or Medes. Their land lay to north-east of that of Ekbatana, and extended as far as the shores of the Caspian. They consisted for the most part of Aryan tribes, allied in blood and language to the Persians” (p. 521).

• And then he further says—

• “The Medes and the Manda were confounded with each other. Astyages, the suzerain of Cyrus, was transformed into a Mede, and the city of Ekbatana into the capital of a Median empire. It was not until the discovery of the monuments of Nabonīdos and Cyrus that the truth came to light.”

The defeat of Astyages by Cyrus is related on a cylinder of Nabonīdus, King of Babylon, 555–538 B.C. (*Brit. Mus.*, No. 82–7–14, 1025). The following is the translation by L. W. King, M.A.:—

• “I, Nabonīdus, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters, the patron of Esagil and Ezida, whose destiny Sin and Ningal in the womb of his mother for a royal destiny determined, son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi; the wise prince, the worshipper

of the great gods, am I. E-hul-hul, the temple of Sin, which is in Harran wherein from eternity Sin the great lord as in the dwelling-place of the delight of his heart dwells, with the city and that temple his heart was wroth and the Scythians (Umman-man-da) he brought and that temple he destroyed and caused it to fall into ruins. In my legitimate reign Bel the great lord through love for my kingdom unto the city and that temple was gracious and had mercy. In the beginning of my everlasting reign they caused me to behold a dream: Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth, stood on either side: Marduk spake to me, 'Nabonīdus, king of Babylon, with the horses of thy chariot bring bricks, E-hul-hul build, and Sin the great lord therein cause to inhabit his dwelling-place.' With fear I spake to the lord of the gods, Marduk: 'That temple which thou commandest me to build, the Scythian (Umman-man-da) infests it and mighty is his strength.' But Marduk spake unto me: 'The Scythian (Umman-man-da) of whom thou speakest, he, his land, and the kings, his allies, are no more.' In the third year on an expedition they caused him to advance, and Cyrus, King of Anzan, his petty vassal, with his troops that were few, the wide-spreading Scythians (Umman-man-da) scattered Astyages, king of the Scythians (Umman-man-da), he captured and as a prisoner to his land he took him. It was the word of the great lord Marduk and of Sin, the light of heaven and earth, whose command was not annulled."

The text transliteration and translation are given in *First Steps in Assyrian*, L. W. King, p. 95, see reproduction in this paper.

Of this conquest of Astyages by Cyrus the Nabonīdus-Cyrus Chronicle (*Brit. Mus.*, Sp. II, 964), has the following account:—





"His forces he (*i.e.* Astyages) collected and against Cyrus, king of Anšan, to conquer him went. But against Astyages his forces revolted, and in captivity to Cyrus they delivered him. Cyrus went to Ekbatana the royal city. Silver, gold, possessions, property of Ekbatana, he carried off and to Anšan he took."—Cuneiform text, transliteration and translation are given in *First Steps in Assyrian*, L. W. King, p. 101.

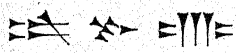
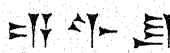
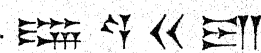
THE DEFEAT OF ASTYAGES BY CYRUS.


From a cylinder of Nabonīdus, King of Babylon, 555-538 B.C.




(*Brit. Mus.*, No. 82-7-14, 1025).

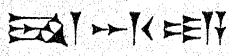

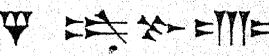
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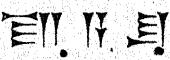


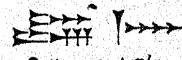
 24.   
ilu Marduk *bitu* *su - a - tim* *ša*
 Marduk : "That temple which

  25. 
tak - bu - u *e - pi - šu* *amēlu Ummān-man - da*
 thou commandest to build, the Scythian


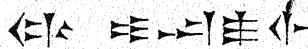
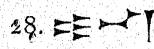
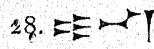
 
sa - lu - ir - šum - ma *pu - ug - gu - lu*
 infests it and mighty is

 26.  
*- mu - ga - a - šu*¹ *ilu Marduk - ma* *i - la - ma - a*
 his strength." But Marduk spake

  
it - ti - ra *amēlu Ummān-man-da* *ša . tak - bu - u*
 unto me : "The Scythian of whom thou speakest,

27.    
ša - a - šu *māti - ša* *u* *šarrāni pl*
 he, his land, and the kings,

1. I. e., *pu-uk-ku-lu e-mu-ka-a-šu*.


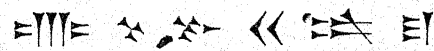



 28. 

a - lik i - di - šu al i - ba - aš - ši i' - na
 his allies, are no more". In

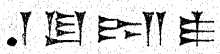

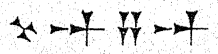
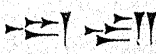





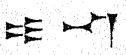
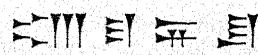
ša - lu - ul - li šatti i - na
 the third year on


 29. 

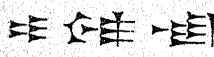
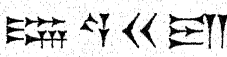

ka - ša - du u - sat - bu - niš - šum - ma
 an expedition¹ they caused him to advance and



^m Ku - ra - aš šar mātu An - za - an arad - su
 Cyrus, king of Anzan, his


 30. 


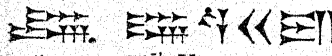
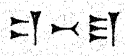
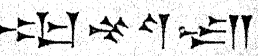
ša - aḫ - ri i - na um - ma - ni - šu
 petty vassal, with his troops

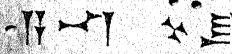



i - šu - tu amēlu Umman-man-da rap - ša - a - ti
 that were few the wide-spreading Scythians

31. 
 32. 

u - sap - pi - iḫ ^m Iṣ - tu - me - gu
 scattered. Astyages,

šar amēlu Umman-man-da iṣ - bat - ma ka - mu - ul - su
 king of the Scythians, he captured and as a prisoner


 33. 
 34. 


a - na māti - šu il - ki a - mat Bēl
 to his land he took him. { (It was) the
 { the word of }

1. Or "as it approached".

With regard to the two cities of Ekbatana, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, in his article in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, on "Acmetha" (Ekbatana), after mentioning that there were two cities of that name, quotes the Armenian historian, Moses of Choriné, as speaking of the "second Ekbatana the seven-walled city." He also refers to a paper by Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Journal Royal Geographical Society*, x, art. 2) which gives the position of the two cities: one in Lat. $34^{\circ} 8' N.$, surviving in the present Hamadan—this would be the capital of the Umman-manda; the other—which Sir Henry considered the ancient capital of the Medes—farther north in Lat. $36^{\circ} 25'$ at Takht-i-Sulayman, in the ancient Atropatené. The positions of the two cities are shown in Map No. 7 in the Oxford Teachers' Bible.

NOTE.—That there was an Astyages, King of the Medes, however, seems certain, as it is recorded by all the Greek historians; but he was distinct from Astyages, King of the Umman-man-da.

It has been sometimes said that Xenophon, in his work the *Anabasis* (III, iv, 7, 12):

"When writing as an historian and not as a novelist ascribes the overthrow of the Median Empire to the Persians under Cyrus after a prolonged resistance."

But in the passage in question Xenophon merely relates the local tradition which he heard when passing through the ruined cities of Larissa (Chalah) and Mespila (Nineveh) in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. He uses the word "legetai" ("it is said"), he does not interrupt his narrative to discuss whether what was "said" was true or false. The tradition in question no doubt once more confounded the Medes with the Manda. For although the Medes are supposed to have taken part with the Babylonians, Scythians and others in the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire in 607 B.C., and the destruction of Nineveh, yet it was not to them, but to the Babylonians, that after the war was over the territory of Assyria seems to have fallen. (Hence the Babylonians are so often called by the Greek writers "Assyrians.") Therefore the Medes had no concern afterwards with the territory in which these cities were. But the Umman-man-da had; for we have seen from the cylinder-inscription of Nabonîdus, already cited, that the Umman-man-da in his day (c. 549 B.C.) from their own

land of Ekbatana, east of Assyria, had penetrated to Harran in Mesopotamia, which lay to the north-west of Nineveh and had no doubt overrun the intervening country in which these ruined cities were. Three years later these Umman-man-da were conquered by Cyrus, and from this conquest no doubt the tradition—mistaken tradition—which Xenophon heard arose.

But in fact the whole suggestion really cuts the other way. Xenophon wrote the *Anabasis* some time after 380 B.C., and in that work he made casual mention of this tradition, which he heard as an officer in the Division of the ten thousand Greeks in the army of Cyrus the Younger, when he was marching through these ruined cities, and returning from that expedition, which culminated in the battle of Cunaxa, and the tragic death of Cyrus the Younger at the hand of Artaxerxes, when the two brothers met in the midst of the battle in single combat. But when, years afterwards, Xenophon set himself—as he very emphatically, in the very commencement of the *Cyropaedia*, states that he did—to investigate and ascertain to the best of his power all the circumstances connected with the career and character of Cyrus, of whom he was about to write, he would seem to have found that there was no foundation for the story. And accordingly, when writing the *Cyropaedia* twenty years afterwards (c. 361 B.C.), he absolutely ignored the false tradition which he had heard, seemingly as not being worthy of being even mentioned or refuted. In this matter, the *Cyropaedia* was a tacit correction of the *Anabasis*—not the *Anabasis* of the *Cyropaedia*.

We have seen already that the accounts given by Ctesias and Herodotus of the parentage of Cyrus—both of these writers being ignorant that his father was a king—are shown by the Cuneiform Inscriptions to be absolutely imaginary—not to say fantastic; and now we see that the account of the revolt of the Persians against the Medes and the conquest of Astyages, King of the Medes, by Cyrus—contained in the story of each of these historians—is also unreal—founded probably on some vague tradition in which the Umman-man-da were mistaken for the Mada—what happened to the Scythians, who at the time infested Western Asia, was supposed to have happened to the Medes. The Inscriptions show that it was Astyages, King of the Scythians, whom Cyrus conquered, not Astyages, King of the Medes.

By these two crucial tests the narratives of these two historians are proved to be quite unreliable—and the account which they

give of the fusion of the Medes and Persians into one people to be absolutely unhistorical.

And now we come to the history of the career of Cyrus as recorded by Xenophon in the Cyropaedia. He relates that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia, and Mandané daughter of Astyages, King of Media. This Astyages was son of that Cyaxáres who was joined in the confederacy composed of Scythians, Egyptians, Medes, Babylonians, and other States of Western Asia, who by the siege and capture of Nineveh brought to such a sudden and tragic end the mighty Empire of Assyria. Thus on his father's side Cyrus was descended from the royal line of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, and on his mother's side from the royal line of Media. This pedigree on the father's side, as we have seen, is abundantly confirmed by the Inscriptions.

Xenophon gives a very interesting and natural account of the boyhood of Cyrus, when at twelve years of age he went on a visit with his mother, Mandané, to his grandfather's court in Media. There to his great delight he learned to ride, and by his boyish charms became a special pet and favourite of his grandfather—Astyages. After his return home to his father, Cambyses King of Persia, he became conspicuous, first amongst his boyish companions, and later on amongst the youth of Persia for his proficiency in horsemanship, and all other manly and warlike exercises. In process of time, Xenophon relates, Astyages, King of Media, died; and his son Cyaxares succeeded to the throne of Media. Shortly after his accession Cyaxares found himself threatened by a powerful confederacy of enemies, of whom the king of Babylon was the chief, and in view of this attack which was about to be made upon him, Cyaxares sent a message to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, requesting him to despatch a force of Persian troops to assist him in the war; and making it a special request that his nephew Cyrus—who had already become renowned for his prowess in arms—should be sent in command of the contingent.

His request was acceded to, and Cyrus was given a force of 30,000 Persians, which included 200 of the ruling caste of the chief nobles of Persia—"the ὀμοτίμοι" (or Peers) as they were called, because they were all of equal rank. Cyrus having thus been chosen to command the contingent, says Xenophon, returned to his house, and having prayed to the goddess of his paternal hearth (Ἑστία πατρώα) and to the Supreme

paternal god ($\Delta\iota\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) and to the other gods, started on his military expedition, and his father joined his escort. But when they came forth from the palace, lightnings and thunders auspicious to him broke out, and when these appeared—seeking for no other omen—they set forth upon their march, under the conviction that in presence of these portents of the most mighty god there could be nothing lacking. As they were going along, the father and son talked together on thoughts relating to religion and to war. In regard to religion Cambyses reminded his son that he had had him well instructed in all matters concerned with the judging of omens, and he said that he had done this in order that Cyrus should be perfectly competent to judge of the significance of omens, whether in sacrifices or in heavenly portents, so as not to be in the power of soothsayers, who might, if they had any purpose to serve, deceive him by telling him things different from those really indicated by the gods; or, again, he might be on some occasion, perhaps, without any soothsayer, and might be at a loss what to make of the divine signs. But on the other hand when, through knowledge of the science of soothsaying, he should know for himself the things which were counselled by the gods, he might obey them. Cyrus assented to all this, and discussing such subjects as these, and also matters connected with the military expedition on which Cyrus was entering, they reached the frontiers of Persia; and when an eagle, appearing on the right, went before them, having prayed to the gods and heroes who held the Persian land, to speed them propitiously and with good favour, so they proceeded to cross the frontiers. But when they had crossed, they prayed again to the gods who held the Median land to receive them propitiously and with good favour. And having done these things, and having embraced each other, as was natural, the father went back to the city again, but Cyrus marched into Media to Cyaxares.

I have brought these passages in the Cyropaedia so fully before you, because I consider they afford a key to understanding what were the religious conceptions of Cyrus, as we find them in the Cyropaedia. It has in the past appeared sometimes to have been the idea of writers that Cyrus was a strict monotheist. This, however, is not the light in which Xenophon has portrayed him in the Cyropaedia. The religious ceremonies brought before us in these passages just quoted, and which are on all similar occasions observed in which we find him supplicating

the gods, and even the heroes who were considered to be the tutelary deities of particular countries, show, of course, that the religious view which he held was that each country had particular deities guarding it; and that it was right to treat such deities with due respect; and to pray to them to be propitious, especially when crossing the frontiers of their country. At the same time, however, far greater than these local divinities, he believed in one supreme god whom, after the habit of the Greek writers, Xenophon calls "Zeus," and who is to be supremely worshipped and by whom he swears.

And this, surely, is the view of the religion of Cyrus which seems to be implied in the Inscriptions. In the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus, for example, we find that when he was in Babylonia he revered the gods of North and South Babylonia, of Sumer and Akkad, and Bel and Nabu. He says in the Cylinder Inscription :

"And the gods of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonîdus to the anger of the gods had brought into Babylon; at the word of Marduk the great lord in their entirety, in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of (their) hearts' delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities, daily before Bel and Nabu for the lengthening of my days pray; let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk my lord let them say, 'May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Cambyeses his son (have prosperity (?)).'"

But whilst Cyrus reverences these lesser divinities of Babylonia—the gods of Sumer and Akkad, and Bel and Nabu—it is evident that there is one supreme great lord god who is above all, to whom, being in the land of Babylon, he gives the name under which he was worshipped as supreme in Babylon—Marduk, or Merodach.

It can readily be seen that this is just the same picture of the religion of Cyrus as is brought before us by Xenophon in the Cyropaedia.

And just the same view of the religion of Cyrus is brought before us in the Old Testament Scriptures. The first words of the Book of Ezra are :—

"Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom

and put it also in writing, saying, 'Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God) which is in Jerusalem.' " (Ez. i, 1-3.)

"Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods: Even these did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. . . . All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred."

It can be seen here that Cyrus reverences Jehovah as being the national god of Israel: he calls him "the Lord God of Israel," while just as when he had the divinities of Babylonia in mind he identified Marduk the supreme god of Babylon with that Great Lord whom he himself worshipped as supreme—so when he had the Lord God of Israel in mind he identified Jehovah with that same "Lord God of heaven" whom he supremely worshipped, and who had "given him all the kingdoms of the earth." There was a curious similarity, too, in the practical action which he took in each case. In the case of the cities of Babylonia, Cyrus restored to those cities certain sacred objects—the idols of their gods—which had been taken from them by King Nabonidus and brought to Babylon, and placed in the house of his gods—and in the case of the people of Israel Cyrus restored to them certain consecrated objects also, the sacred vessels of the house of the Lord—which "Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem and had put them in the house of his gods." (Ezra i, 7.)

On this point, then, as to the religion of Cyrus, the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, appear to be in agreement with the Inscriptions, and in agreement with each other. Authentic history—not imagination or romance.

When Cyrus arrived at his uncle's court, first, says Xenophon, as was natural, they embraced each other, and then Cyaxares asked his nephew, what number of men did the contingent of troops, which he had brought, consist of. Cyrus replied, "30,000

who formerly served with you as mercenaries, and the *δρότιμοι*." "And what number are they?" asked his uncle. "You would not be much pleased," said Cyrus, "if you heard; but be well-assured that these, though few, easily rule the rest of the Persians though they be many. But," he continued, "is there any need of these soldiers of mine, or were you needlessly alarmed, and are the enemies not coming?" "They are, indeed, by Zeus," he said, "and very many, too." It appeared then that Croesus, King of Lydia, and quite a number of powerful allies, had come to the help of the Babylonian king who held Babylon and the rest of Assyria. When Cyaxares had, in response to the inquiry of Cyrus, mentioned the numbers which each of the allies were said to have brought with them, Cyrus said, "Then the cavalry on our side are less than a third part of the enemy's Horse, and our foot-soldiers about a half." After a time a battle took place in which the enemy were defeated with great loss and driven into the entrenched enclosure of their camp, and Cyrus drew off his forces, elated with the victory, to some short distance for the night.

But on the side of the enemy, the Assyrians, who, Xenophon (evidently in error) states, had lost their king in the battle, were greatly disheartened; and Croesus and the other kings even more so, when they saw the troops of the leading nation in the confederacy so unsound in spirit; and, in fact, as a result the whole confederate host abandoned the camp during the night. And it may be noticed here that this account, given by Xenophon, of the cowardice and inefficiency of the Babylonian troops in the days of Cyrus, is in full accord with the Inscriptions; for the Annalistic Tablet of the time of the Fall of Babylon records, that after one faint attempt, apparently, at resistance in the field, the Babylonian army was no longer seen. The army which had won such victories under Nebuchadnezzar had become "unsound."

Next morning, Cyrus, finding that the enemy had abandoned their camp, leaving much booty behind them, called his captains together and represented to them that in not promptly following up the enemy they were throwing away a great opportunity. Impressed with what they heard, the captains proposed to put the matter before Cyaxares, and they went to him in a body that he might see they were all in favour of following up the enemy. But Cyaxares, when they began their discourse, seemed rather annoyed, and appeared to consider that enough had been done and that now they might take their ease and encounter no more danger.

But Cyrus, replying to his uncle said, "But you surely will not put restraint on any one; but will give me those of your Medians who may be willing to follow me; and perhaps we may come back bringing to yourself, and to each of these your friends, things over which you all will be greatly pleased." Cyaxares consented that any of the Medians in his army who wished, might go with Cyrus; and a friend of his own was deputed to see that whosoever might be going was going of his own free will. In the end, for one motive or another—enumerated by Xenophon—nearly the whole Median army volunteered, went off the same night with Cyrus, and subsequently fought under his command side by side with the Persians. Cyaxares, who had been drinking that night with some of his principal officers in the royal pavilion, was much annoyed and mortified when he found himself thus abandoned by almost all his army; but later on, after a little, a meeting between the uncle and the nephew occurred, in the course of which Cyrus, by that fascinating charm of manner, by which he bowed the hearts of all men to his will, restored his uncle to good humour, and the reconciliation was sealed, after the Persian manner, by a kiss. It was then agreed that Cyaxares should return and guard the kingdom of Media, whilst Cyrus should pursue his career of conquest.

The sequel to the battle, of which an account has been given, must be briefly told. On the same day that the Medians, as already related, took service under Cyrus, a small tribe, the Hyrcanians, bordering on and subject to the Assyrians, sent messengers to Cyrus saying that they wished to come over to his side, that they justly hated the Assyrians, and would lead him to the place where the confederate armies were then encamped; and that if they marched quickly that night they might catch them up, even at the following dawn. Cyrus accepted their service and he led out his army that evening while it was still light. So the army, led by the Hyrcanians, marched through the night. But when the morning dawned, and the enemy encamped saw the army of Cyrus approaching, they were seized with utter panic, no one attempted to fight: they were routed without a blow. The King of the Cappadocians and the King of the Arabians were slain by the Hyrcanians, but the Assyrians suffered most of all. Croesus, King of Lydia, as it was summer, had sent forward his women in carriages during the night that they might travel more at ease in the cooler hours, and had followed them himself, leading the cavalry; and the Phrygian

who ruled over Phrygia by the Hellespont, is said to have done the same. Immense booty was taken in the camp. The confederate army was dissolved for the time: to meet again in greater force before the walls of Sardis.

The King of the Assyrians—as the Greek writers so often call the King of Babylon—seems at this time to have retired within the walls of Babylon. Cyrus, on his part, appears to have been perfectly conscious that his army at the moment would be quite insufficient to undertake such an enterprise as the siege of the great city of Babylon—although he seems at this time to have been sometimes in its immediate neighbourhood—and he appears to have kept his army moving about through the territory of Babylonia, and letting it be known to all that he was very ready to receive any of the rulers of the surrounding territories who might be willing to join his standard.

And it is at this time that Xenophon records that incident of such special interest and importance in relation to the subject of the present paper, namely: the coming over of Gôbryas to Cyrus. Xenophon tells how at this time an Assyrian man of rank appeared on horseback, with an escort of horse, and said that he wished to see Cyrus. When he was brought into the presence of Cyrus, he said that he was an Assyrian by birth, that he possessed a strong fortress, and was ruler of an extensive territory. Xenophon mentions no name for the territory, but the Cuneiform Inscriptions give Gôbryas the title of "Governor of Gutium." He went on to say that he had a body of 2300 Horse which he furnished to the King of the Assyrians, and the king had been one of his greatest friends. "But," he continued, "that good king died in battle against you, and his son, who is now my bitterest enemy, possesses the kingdom. Therefore," he said to Cyrus, "I come as a suppliant to you, and fall down before you, and offer myself as a servant and an ally, and you, I beseech, become an avenger for me; and I adopt you just as my son, as far as may be; for I am childless as regards any male children. For he who was my only son, handsome and good, O Master, and loving and honouring me in a way that might make any father happy, and to whom the former king had purposed to give the princess his daughter in marriage, was out hunting one day with the present king when a bear, first, and then a lion, coming into view, in each case the king shot a dart at the beast and missed, and in each case my son shot and brought down the game—and in his rash excitement cried,

‘Have I not shot twice in succession, and each time have brought down a beast?’ Upon which the King no longer able to control his jealous fury, seizing a dagger from one of those who followed, struck it into the breast of my dear son and killed him.” And so he had come to entreat Cyrus to be his avenger. And Cyrus graciously replied, “On the understanding that these are true professions, I give thee my right hand, and I take thine.” Subsequently, on the invitation of Gôbryas, Cyrus, accompanied by an adequate escort of his own cavalry, paid a visit to his territory and fortress and soon after took him into his army, and he and Gadatas—another chief, who at this time also came over to Cyrus, owing to the cruelty of the Babylonian king—became his most trusted officers; and they are continually mentioned as such in the Cyropaedia; and, accordingly, it was to these two leaders that Cyrus entrusted the command of those troops, who on the momentous night that Babylon was taken, entered the city by the river gates, penetrated to the palace banqueting hall, and slew the Babylonian king—Belshazzar, no doubt—in the midst of his sacrilegious revel.

In the account which Xenophon here gives of this incident of Gôbryas there can be no doubt but that the old king is Nabonidus and the young king Belshazzar. Xenophon is, of course, mistaken in supposing that Nabonidus at this time had died: the Inscriptions make it certain that he was alive even at the time of the Fall of Babylon. Nevertheless, Xenophon has told a great deal about Gôbryas, and is thus in close touch with the real history. It is probable that at this time, although Nabonidus was alive, he had fallen a good deal into the background in comparison with his son Belshazzar. Herodotus seems never to have heard of this Gôbryas at all.

The next great period in the career of Cyrus is his campaign against Croesus, King of Lydia, and his allies, and the great battle fought before Sardis—one of the decisive battles of the world. While in Babylonia intelligence reached Cyrus that the King of Babylon had gone off to Lydia to join a confederation there, of which Croesus was the head; and later, news was brought that the King of Lydia had been appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate forces. Cyrus immediately set out on the march to Lydia. The battle before Sardis was a very hard-fought one, owing chiefly to the valiant resistance made by the Egyptian phalanx in the confederate army; and Cyrus had a narrow escape of losing his life in the encounter in this part of the field.

Seeing the Persians being forced from their position by the Egyptians, Cyrus was deeply concerned; and riding round the flank of the Egyptian phalanx and calling on his men to follow he headed a furious onslaught on their rear. The Egyptians, when they realized what had occurred, cried out that the enemy was attacking them from the rear, and faced about under the onslaught. And then foot-soldiers and cavalry fought in utter confusion; and someone having fallen under Cyrus's horse, and being trampled on, stabbed his horse from beneath with his sword, and the horse, when stabbed, madly plunging, threw off Cyrus. "And then might anyone know," says Xenophon, "of what great value it is for a leader to be loved by those around him. For immediately all raised a shout, and flinging themselves upon him, fought, pushed, were pushed, struck, were struck; and one man, leaping from his horse, placed Cyrus upon him. But when Cyrus was mounted he now saw that the Egyptians were smitten on all sides, and he ordered Hystaspes and Chrysantas, who were there with the cavalry, no longer to launch attacks upon the phalanx of the Egyptians, but to rain darts and arrows at them from outside. The gallant phalanx could now harm their enemy no more; but forming a circle, covering themselves the best way that they could under their great shields, were suffering nevertheless terrible losses, till Cyrus, admiring their valour, and seeing that all resistance in other parts of the battlefield had ceased, and that there was an utter rout; and thinking it pity that such brave men should not be saved, sent a herald to parley with them, and after firmly requiring that they should receive such honourable treatment as was befitting for brave men, they agreed to enter the service of Cyrus as a mercenary force. As a consequence of this great victory, Croesus and the city of Sardis fell into Cyrus's hands and the noble and chivalrous clemency, which, as recorded in the Cyropaedia, he displayed in his treatment of the Lydian monarch and the city of Sardis when both were in his power, was in full accord with that with which, according to the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the Cyropaedia in full agreement with them, he treated Babylon.

But what a moment for the civilized world was that, when the horse, frantic with his wound, flung Cyrus off into that welter of carnage and blood! And who was the "Unknown Warrior" who, with prompt devotion, slipped off his horse and gave it to his King? But Cyrus, just then, could not die. God.

had work for him to do. Was he not God's "shepherd"—"the Lord's anointed"—was he not held by the Lord's right hand?

And next he marched on Babylon. But it is needless to spend any time in regard to questions concerned with the method of its capture, as these were pretty fully discussed in another paper which I had the honour of reading before the Victoria Institute, "The Fall of Babylon and Daniel v, 30," reported in vol. xvi, p. 9, of the *Transactions*. I shall just quote from the Cyrus cylinder a few of the gracious words in which Cyrus describes his triumphal approach to, and entry of, the great city of Babylon.

"Babylon he spared from tribulation. The people of Babylon, all of them, the whole of Sumer and Akkad princes and governors beneath him bowed down; they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his Kingdom, bright was their countenance. My wide-spreading troops into Babylon advance in peace."

"When into Babylon I entered favourably, and with shouts of joy, in the palace of the princes I took up my lordly dwelling. Marduk the great lord, the great heart of the Babylonians inclined to me, and daily do I care for his worship," etc.

I am now going to quote from the Cyropaedia a passage of primary importance in regard to the identification of Cyaxares, King of Media, with Darius the Median. When it seemed to Cyrus that affairs in Babylon were in such a satisfactory state that he could go away from home, he made preparations for a journey to Persia, and when he considered that he had enough of the things which he thought he would want, he set out. "But when as they journeyed they came down to Media, Cyrus turned aside to Cyaxares. And when they had embraced one another, Cyrus said to Cyaxares that there would be a house set apart for him in Babylon and government offices (*ἀρχαία*), so that he might have, whenever he came thither, suitable residences to put up in. And then he gave him other gifts, many and beautiful. But Cyaxares, on his part, received these things; and he sent for his daughter to come to him; and she came bearing a golden crown and bracelets and a twisted metal collar and a Median robe, the most beautiful possible. And the girl crowned Cyrus, and Cyaxares spoke: 'I give you,' he said,

'O Cyrus, also this woman herself, being my own daughter; and your father married my father's daughter, of whom you were born. But this is she whom you often as a boy, when you were with us, used to nurse. And whenever anyone would ask her to whom would she be married, she used always to say, that it would be to Cyrus. And I give to her also as a dowry the whole of Media; for I have not a legitimate male child.' He spoke thus, but Cyrus answered, 'Well, O Cyaxares, I appreciate both her birth, and the damsel, and the gifts; but I wish,' he said, 'to come to agreement with you in regard to these things with the consent of my father and my mother.' " Thus spoke Cyrus, but he made presents to the damsel of all such things as he thought would also gratify Cyaxares. And having done these things he went on to Persia. Then Xenophon relates how he paid a visit to his father Cambyses, King of Persia, who, in the course of a speech which he made in presence of his son to the nobles of Persia, mentioned as a matter of course that after his death Cyrus would be King of Persia. But when Cyrus, departing from Persia, arrived in Media—since his father and mother had given their approval of the match—he married Cyaxares' daughter; of whom even still, the story goes, says Xenophon, that she was of perfect beauty.

The absence of Cyrus from Babylon at this time in the first year of his reign seems to receive confirmation from the dating of the following contract tablets. I think it is now generally conceded that it was on the night of the 11th Marcheswan that Babylon fell; and consequently at that date the accession year of the reign of Cyrus commenced. There are tablets dated as follows:—

Accession year of Cyrus 24th Marcheswan (Oct.—Nov.).

Accession year of Cyrus 7th Chisleu (Nov.—Dec.).

Year 1st of the King's reign began on 1st Nisan (21st Mar.—20th Apl.).

Dating of Tablets.

First year 7th Nisan (Mar.—Apl.) Cyrus King of Countries.

First year Tammuz (June—July) Cambyses King of Babylon, at that time Cyrus his father King of Countries.

First year Tisri (Sept.—Oct.) Cyrus King of Babylon, King of Countries.

First year Tebet (Dec.—Jan.) Cyrus King of Babylon.

It would seem, then, that Cyrus spent the months from the beginning of November to the beginning of the following June in putting affairs in order in Babylon; and some time in the month Tammuz (June-July) he appointed Cambyses "King of Babylon" previous to his setting out to visit his uncle Cyaxares, King of Media; and his father, Cambyses, King of Persia.

He returned to Babylon some time about the month Tisri (Sept.-Oct.) and resumed his full title, "King of Babylon, King of Countries," which he seems afterwards to have retained to the 8th year of his reign, as there are tablets dated in that year "Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries." For example:

Sippar 3 Ab. 8th year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries.

Another—

8th year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries.

Thus in this instance, as in so many others, the narrative of Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* receives confirmation from the Inscriptions.

They would seem to indicate a period of about three months for his absence from Babylon on his visit to Persia.

Since Xenophon, then, who gives so many particulars about this King of Media, Cyaxares II, is confirmed in so many points regarding the birth, career and character of Cyrus by the Inscriptions, we are entitled to claim that when we identify Darius the Median with this Cyaxares in Xenophon, we are not identifying him with an imaginary person who never existed, but with a real historical king; who is not mentioned by Ctesias or Herodotus, simply because they were in the same ignorance of his existence as they were in regard to the royal birth of Cyrus, and the true course of Medo-Persian history.

In the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hysdaspes, who reigned about thirty years later than the conquest of Babylon, we have mention of a King Cyaxares. In the period of disorder in the Persian Empire which followed on the death of King Cambyses, son of Cyrus, in Egypt (521 B.C.), a number of impostors, as recorded in the Inscription, sprung up in different Provinces of the Empire.

One impostor declared :—

“I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares. I am King of Media.”

Another impostor named Sitatrachmes declared :—

“I am King of Sagartia of the race of Cyaxares.”

Darius in his Inscription records his having put to death each of the impostors who had seized on the different Provinces, when they had been defeated and he had got them into his power ; but in the case of these two, who claimed to be of the race of Cyaxares, he records (to his eternal shame) that he mutilated their features in a barbarous manner and exposed them in this condition to the public gaze, bound in front of his palace ; before having them put, later on, to a cruel death. The name Cyaxares would seem to have had about it a dangerous vitality even thirty years after the fall of Babylon.

It was the throne of Media that the impostor Xathrites claimed as being of the race of Cyaxares. Of Darius the Median, Josephus writes :—

“He was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him, for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.”—
Ant. x., xi, 4.

And then he relates the incident of Daniel being thrown into the den of lions (Dan. vi).

To me it appears that Josephus gives the true explanation of the sixth chapter of the Book of Daniel, namely, that the whole of the incidents related in that chapter, the appointment of presidents, the decree of Darius, the casting of Daniel into the den of lions, occurred, not in Babylon, but in Media, where Darius (Cyaxares) was an independent and hereditary king. It was with Media, according to Josephus, that Daniel was, by tradition, most particularly associated ; he was said to have built a tower at Ekbatana in Media, which was still remaining in the days of Josephus, and in that tower Josephus says :—

“They bury the kings of Persia and Parthia to this day.”

The narrative in the sixth chapter of Daniel would surely require that he whom the presidents and princes approached with their flattering and insidious request, should be, not a mere lieutenant like Gôbryas, but a real king—invested with that divinity which—in those days was held to be inherent in a king. The narrative seems also to require that the king in question should have that absolute and independent power which the Cyaxares of Xenophon would have in the kingdom of Media.

The sixth chapter ends with the verse—

“So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.”

It is to be noted, however, that the Hebrew word *malkûth* which is here translated “reign” is translated in other places “realm.” For example—

“So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet” (2 Chron. xx, 30).

“Why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?” (Ezra vii, 23).

In the Book of Daniel—in addition to the passage just quoted—the Hebrew word *malkûth* is translated “reign” in four instances, viz. :—“In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim” (Dan. i, 1). “And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar” (Dan. ii, 1). “In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar” (Dan. viii, 1). “In the first year of his reign” (Dan. ix, 1).

In each of these cases the meaning of the word is fixed as “reign” because the number of a regnal year is mentioned.

In the following four passages, on the other hand, the word *malkûth* is translated “realm” :—

(Dan. i, 20) “astrologers that were in all his ‘realm.’”

(Dan. vi, 3) “thought to set him over the whole ‘realm.’”

(Dan. ix, 1) “king over the ‘realm’ of the Chaldeans.”

(Dan. xi, 2) “stir up all against the ‘realm’ of Grecia.”

These (with vi, 28) are all the passages in Daniel in which the word *malkûth* is translated “reign” or “realm.” It will be seen that in the first four passages the word could not (to make sense) be translated “realm,” and in the four last it could not be translated “reign.”

But in Dan. vi, 28, the translation is not in any way tied to "reign" but is an open question, because either "reign" or "realm" would make sense. As according to the view of the history, however, held by the writer of this paper, the reign of Darius (in Media) and the reign of Cyrus the Persian (in Babylon) were not successive but concurrent ones, the right translation in accordance with the history would be "So this Daniel prospered in the *realm* of Darius and in the *realm* of Cyrus the Persian."

CONCLUSION.

It would seem, then, from the narrative of Xenophon, that, on the one hand, Cyaxares (Darius the Median) gave Cyrus all Media as his daughter's dowry, whilst on the other hand Cyrus assigned to Cyaxares a Residence and Government offices—which would imply authority—in Babylon, thus in a friendly, though perhaps irregular way, associating him with himself in the kingdom. And these friendly relations, which Xenophon represents as existing between Cyaxares and Cyrus, correspond exactly with the condition of union and brotherhood which is found existing between the Medes and Persians after the fall of the Babylonian Empire. Thus the narrative of Xenophon accounts for the historical situation; and receives from that fact additional confirmation.

Cyrus was indeed the noblest, the most gracious, and the most chivalric ruler that ever in the history of the world won and ruled a mighty empire. Centuries before what is known as the Age of Chivalry he was inspired by all that was highest and purest in its spirit:—One might say of him—to use the language of old Chaucer—"He was almost a parfait gentle knight."

The CHAIRMAN gave his views with regard to some of the more important points dealt with in the paper. The Babylonian inscriptions, he said, only speak of Gôbryas—there is no reference to Cyaxares as either king or even governor of Babylon. See his *Old Testament in the Light of the Records*, pp. 415 ff.; "The Capture of Babylon by Cyrus," etc., in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* VII, Part I, 1880; "Recent

Historical Discoveries," the *Proceedings* of that Society, November 7th, 1882, pp. 6-13; "Two late Tablets of Historical Interest" in the same for January 19th, 1916, pp. 33-34; "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* for April 20th, 1914, pp. 11 ff. and 20 ff. of the reprint; "From World-Dominion to Subjection" in the same for February 19th, 1917, pp. 14 ff. of the reprint; "Fresh Light on the Book of Daniel," in the *Expository Times* for April, 1915, pp. 298-299. Further discoveries in the East may, however, modify his conclusions.

The 636th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1, on Monday,
January 9th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

Lieut.-Colonel HOPE BIDDULPH, D.S.O., in the Chair.

Before opening the general business of the meeting the CHAIRMAN called on Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay and Dr. A. T. Schofield to make announcements. The former referred to the great loss the Institute had sustained in the passing away of our honoured President, the Earl of Halsbury, in December last, after occupying the post with great wisdom and distinction for more than eighteen years. Colonel Mackinlay showed by instance how close Lord Halsbury's interest had been in the cause for which the Institute stands. An expression of sympathy with the Countess was put to the vote and carried unanimously. All in the meeting stood during the statement as a token of respect to the memory of our late President.

DR. SCHOFIELD spoke with regret of the loss of one of our Vice-Presidents, Profesor H. Langhorne Orchard, who had constantly been with us and given great help to the Institute in many ways, both as a Member of Council and also as a speaker in our meetings.

LIEUT.-COLONEL MACKINLAY, acting Secretary for meeting, then read the Minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed and signed.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Miss Constance M. Maynard, First Principal of Westfield College, to read her paper on "The Bible in the Twentieth Century."

THE BIBLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By
CONSTANCE L. MAYNARD. Mor. Sci. Tripos, Cambridge, and
First Principal of Westfield College, University of London.

IT is nearly fifty years ago that I entered Girton College, Cambridge, as a new student. To be permitted to enter the world of learning was delightful, my companions were friendly, and all was bright, save for one aspect, and that was the attitude toward religion. Brought up in a sincerely Christian home, already having seen the work of the Spirit of God in some of the village people, the change of atmosphere was almost indescribable. Doctrines I had supposed fixed and settled for ever by Divine authority were thrown into the melting-pot, and even the most elementary positions, such as the existence of a life beyond the grave, were questioned. Let me say in passing that with increasing numbers the tone has become very different. In every College, whether for men or women, there is an Agnostic body, but (thanks chiefly to the Student Christian Movement) there is also an organized Christian society, for anyone to join who will.

It is of times long past that I am speaking, when the controversy centred round the Bible, which I remember hearing described as "a hopelessly mutilated document." Germany has generally been at least forty years in front of England, whether for good or ill. Good in the Reformation, and also in the Evangelical Revival; evil in the onslaught of rationalistic ideas. These reached England about 1840, but were not fully translated and put into the hands of the reading public till the seventies. England's contribution on the scientific side also coincides, Darwin's *Origin of Species* coming out in 1859, and the *Descent of Man* in 1871. The total tumult was very great. The older among you will remember the outcries on both sides, and those who read and keep pace with the currents of critical thought will be aware that in great measure the storm has sunk to rest. In the beginning of this century a new method of attack was begun; the Bible, i.e., the Inspiration of the Past, was left alone for every man to interpret as he will, and all forces were directed against the Inspiration of the Present, i.e., the work of the Spirit of God in the heart of man. We are told that the wonders of Conversion can be imitated in the hypnotic trance, and that answers to Prayer are due to auto-suggestion, and so on. The position is one of extreme peril to our next generation, but I for one do not feel capable of dealing in public with the immense questions involved. Some among us tend to get belated in matters of thought, and I think it may be of real interest to trace the position of the Bible through the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, and see where we stand in face of the tests the future is sure to bring. There is so very much to say that, as both time and space are limited, I pray you have patience. To be brief is to appear dogmatic, and it is not easy to put the conclusions of a lifetime into a few sentences.

When these countless questions about the Bible were thronging round me, as formless and ubiquitous as a swarm of locusts, a little pamphlet fell into my hands that was a very great help. Dr. Christlieb of Bonn wrote a ponderous book called *Moderne Zweifel*, which was translated by a young relative of his, Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, now of Mildmay. To encourage English readers to try to master so stiff a volume, the Introduction was published separately, and it was this that, by the goodness of God, fell into my hands, I think in the Long Vacation of 1874.

The summary of it that remained in my mind was this. Before fighting we must have reconnaissance. It may take long to subdue our enemies, but our first duty is to enumerate them and so make an estimate of the work that lies before us. Outcries are of no use. Our foes advance upon us in three main bands or regiments, thus:—

1. *Literary and Historical Criticism.*—This we need not fear. We have certainly made a good many mistakes as to dates and authorship of our sacred writings, e.g., we thought the Psalms were all written by David, and the book we call "Isaiah" was the work of one man. Learning is a valuable helper in all this division. It requires great care in handling, but we need not be afraid of the result. It does not touch the question of Inspiration.

2. *Scientific Criticism.*—This is an infinitely more difficult region. Not only does the account of the Creation need to be entirely remodelled, but the question of Miracle is at stake; the two great Christian miracles, the Incarnation and the Resurrection, are implicated. I bid you beware how you approach this subject.

3. *Ethical Criticism.*—This is the hardest of all. I do not think any of us can see the end of it, or even attempt to explain it. The divine approval of the mean character of Jacob, the exterminating wars of Joshua, the extraordinary tales in the book of the Judges, the existence of the imprecatory Psalms—we submit, we cannot explain how such as these can be the outcome of a God of perfect Goodness and Love. Here is a very strong enemy.

Such was the pamphlet; though I fear that in this summary I am giving you far more of the effect upon my own mind than the words of Dr. Christlieb. To some of you it may sound like the echoes of a past age, but to me it was a great satisfaction to find our enemies were not innumerable, but were in definite bands. Yet I could not fight, for I would not read. Where was the use of speaking to people at home, who checked all progress with the wards, "To doubt is to sin"? Where was the use of confiding in agnostic friends who said light-heartedly, "All life is change and progress. You thought one thing yesterday, why cannot you think another thing to-day, and perhaps another to-morrow?" This to my mind meant the "death of the soul. Once I remember confiding in a German pastor, for I thought he would sympathize, but he turned his gentle eyes on me and said slowly, "And you would like to know all the different poisons by taste?"

This is not a biography, and I will only add that I toiled along the road for many years, blind and dumb toward the speculative side (though one cannot be wholly deaf if one lives in the world of thought), but keeping eyes and tongue and hands fully occupied with the practical side of religion. Never did I omit reading the Bible, or trying to help others who knew less than myself, and when one sees the flame of a new life kindled in a young heart, and the whole being shoots heavenward like a skyrocket, doubts sink into the background. Yet they remain,

deep-hidden. One would like to see as well as to feel and to touch.

Now that the dark tunnel is behind me, and I have run out into an atmosphere of light and freedom, it is possible that a statement may help. Some, who live secluded lives, may be content with the creed, "Fear not; only believe," which Bishop Lightfoot found such a help in moments of difficulty; but those, who are surrounded with the clamour of the world of Students must have some rational explanation to offer, must be able "to give a reason for the hope" that is in them, even though it be coupled with "fear" as well as meekness. So let me try.

The Bible has an outer shell as well as an inner kernel. Everything, while we are in this world, has a body as well as a soul; we as individuals have, and the Church of Christ has, and even our Lord had. Take the Bible down from your shelf and look at it like any other book: what is it about? It is a very ancient record, and it contains History, Legislation, Ethics, Poetry, Narratives, Proverbs, Parables, and almost every form of literature. Far, far more. These things are the mere channels of a Divine Revelation continued through centuries; they are the outer form of an immortal soul that can rule the whole world. Yes, true. But first admit that it has a body, and that here is a region where learning is a great help. What is a critic? In some people's minds he seems to be nothing but an anarchist, pulling down sacred things, and destroying everything he touches! An art critic is not so; it is true he may point out to you faked things and show that what you thought was a Raphael is not so, but he also can discover treasures where you cannot. A critic is an expert in one line of knowledge, whether history, archæology, philology, or anything else. He knows more than you and I do, and therefore should be listened to. In some things he brings forward corroborations of the Bible narrative; monuments and inscriptions are innumerable, and all to the good. But do you care so very much about these matters? I do not. They deal only with the shell. I do not want especially to know about Tiglath-pileser, and about the discovery of cylinders of cuniform writing giving the history of Sargon, who is incidentally once mentioned in Isaiah. It is all right just in passing, but it does not go near the supreme truths I want to know. And it is exactly the same when their verdict seems to be adverse to our accepted ideas. Perhaps I may here bring forward the stock example, though doubtless you have heard it a score of times. Most critics say that it is about as likely that Moses wrote Deuteronomy as that *In Memoriam* was written by Spenser, who wrote *The Faerie Queene*. They are not quite all agreed, and it is pathetic to see how Christian people catch at the doubt, as though their life depended on it. I cannot make myself care about the date,

but to me it is beautiful to read how our Father in Heaven re-states His laws in terms of entreaty. The very young child needs short commands, "Come when I call you," "Don't touch the fire"; but the older child needs a glimpse of the heart of love that lies behind the rules, an explanation of the miseries of disobedience, and the joys of sympathy with the nobler aim and the wider scope of the parents. Though this view of a far later date seems to me better, because more in accordance with our experience, I am quite ready to leave it because it deals only with the shell; the important point is that the words are really there, an expression of hope and disappointment, of sympathy and longing, straight from the heart of God, incorporated in our Bible. But I pray you listen to this further expression of experience; if the critic goes beyond mere facts and gives you his conclusions, I say without hesitation that we will not accept them. No, not one of them, for *quâ critic* he can deal only with the outer shell. He misses out our chief witness. He cannot help it. He comes under our Lord's explanation that, unless the little flame of the Divine life is lighted within, a man cannot even "see the kingdom of God," not even know that it is there to be studied. St. Paul's version of the same solemn truth about "the natural man" is that "the things of the Spirit of God are foolishness unto him, neither *can* he know them because they are spiritually discerned." These words may seem severe, but again and again does the agnostic set his seal to them by saying, "It isn't that I won't believe, it is that I can't. I have not the requisite data." The critic may go on to tell us that Genesis is by no means the first book to be written down, but is a comparatively late production, and that the Apocalypse is not the last; if he goes on to add, "Therefore the Bible is not reliable," then we may chase him from us without allowing him another word, exactly as Nehemiah did the son of Joiada the high priest, because he was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite. It is only lately that I see this division clearly between the work of Learning, and the work of the Spirit of God, and surely it leaves us a reasonable path to walk in! The critics cannot deal with more than the shell, the body; they must not touch the inner soul, because they have no experience of it, and so the judgment they pronounce is worth nothing. And even as to the arrangement of the books—a wonderful series written over a space of at least fifteen centuries—suppose all the sixty of them were bound in separate volumes, how should we place them? Surely it were wise to begin with the remote past, and to end with the remote future! That a critic may also be a sincere Christian is, thank Heaven! true, but then he takes another place, and we call his work Apologetics rather than Criticism, because they bring in a witness the world cannot recognize.

Only one century ago two of these apologists were read by thousands, and doubtless considered final, and these were Bishop Butler, who wrote the *Analogy*, and Paley, who inaugurated the argument from Design in Nature. Both of these have been rendered inefficient and put out of court by the advance of scientific discovery, and so doubtless it will be to the end of time. What satisfies the intellect of one generation will not satisfy that of another, but as our knowledge advances, we must advance also. As a Scottish minister once said to me, "The defences of Christianity are *not military, but naval*." One, and only one, line of proof is secure, indisputable, eternal, incontrovertible, and that is the change in the human character wrought by the acceptance of Christ as the Saviour from sin; both from the debt of the past and the tyranny of the present. This change, this new life born within us by the work of the Holy Spirit, is spoken of many times in the Bible. Take one instance only; "Instead of the thorn," the selfish isolation that wards off other people, "shall come up the fir tree," the type of strong, unobtrusive usefulness; "instead of the brier," the catching, carping, irritating, ill-tempered spirit, "shall come up the myrtle tree," sweetness, fragrance, and bridal beauty: "and it shall be to the Lord for a name, and for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off." If we work for the Kingdom of Heaven, this is our experience. In the depths of our own souls we know this change from the selfish to the altruistic position, from the bitter to the sweet, and in dealing with those under our charge, to see the spiritual miracle going on is the very joy and crown of our endeavour. Centuries come and go, and from the days of the Acts of the Apostles to the work of our Bible Classes or of the Mission-field of to-day, here is the one evidence for the truth of the Word of God that can never be disputed or gainsaid.

Let us pass on to the difficulties raised by Science, for to my own mind these stood first and chief. My rebellion was long and complete, for, for some twenty years, I would read nothing that bore on the subject on Evolution, nothing but Henry Drummond, to whom many of us are eternally grateful. However, one day some one suggested that this was not the first time Science and Religion had come into direct collision, and that in the conflict Science had always won, and yet Religion was eventually none the worse. It was like bringing a lamp into a dim twilight room, as my mind and memory at once supplied the historic instances. Think of the first and most crucial struggle of all, when the earth was discovered to be a free, rolling ball attendant on the sun. Dante's conceptions were so scriptural, so satisfactory, while under the new light the words *up* and *down* lost their meaning. The Apostles' Creed itself, as well as all Scripture, speaks of up to heaven, and down to hell, and if the localities

of heaven and hell are taken away from popular conception, the reality of them soon follows. I confess to feeling decided sympathy with the Pope and the Cardinals; they all had a look through Galileo's telescope, they saw the four moons of Jupiter like a little diagram of the planetary system hanging up on the wall of heaven for all to see, they listened to the arguments, but they considered themselves the guardians of the Faith, and they decreed that these things *must not be*, and they wrote down that it was to be a part of the Catholic faith for ever that the earth was fixed and central, for anything less than this contradicted the whole tenor of the Bible. It was not till 1835 that heliocentric books were taken off the *Index*.

The next conflict is coupled with the name of Sir Isaac Newton. His great work was not merely the discovery of the law of gravitation, but that every department of Nature, Light, Sound, and all else, was under the strict reign of law. Witchcraft, and a thousand superstitions fell at one stroke, and again there was an outcry that this view of the order of the world did away with both the power of Satan and the power of God, and tended to blank materialism. Yet Newton's discoveries have triumphed. The next battle was only a hundred years ago; Geology awoke and demanded *time*. Not a single week in the year 4004 B.C. but it cried out for thousands and millions of years, and would not be denied, so plain was the evidence of the rocks. The folly of the outcries against this claim makes us profoundly ashamed of ourselves, but there stands the documentary testimony to our stubborn blindness. Fifty years after this the doctrine of Evolution was propounded—that creation is not sudden but very gradual, and that life begins in its lowest forms and works upward. Now with such a past history as we have behind us, was it wise that these theories were met with a violent denial? that sermons were preached and pamphlets were written by the hundreds, bringing forward torrents of abuse, or endeavouring to make the whole subject ridiculous? I myself remember such in plenty. Do we wish the three former conquests undone, and the conceptions of Space, Law and Time put back to where they stood five hundred years ago? Certainly not. Has not Religion gained rather than lost by them? "But," you add, "this discovery is so uncertain, and many things disprove it." Well, perhaps you do not realize that the observed motion of the planets in the sky seemed to disprove the Copernican theory over and over again for a hundred and fifty years. Always wrong; the precalculated place and the actual place never coincided, till astronomers were nearly in despair. Copernicus had made the radical mistake of thinking the planetary orbits were circles; Kepler, a century and a half later, discovered they were ellipses, and the whole theory fell into beautiful and permanent order. We are waiting

for our Kepler, but meanwhile we can no more go back to the catastrophic view of Creation than the astronomers of those days could forsake Copernicus and go back to the old Ptolemaic theories. That is impossible.

This is hardly the place to enter on this vast subject, but because it was to my own life the very watershed, the cross-roads, the division of thought, which, if accepted, all else followed naturally, I may perhaps be excused for dwelling for a few moments on the magnificent record in Genesis i. There it lies before us, a firm framework of truth, patient of interpretation, like ruled lines that we may fill in by our ignorance or our knowledge as we will. Milton filled it in with brilliant and grotesque designs, picturing full-grown lions and sheep coming clambering out of the earth, and we may fill it in with our Science. It bears both equally well, for the Bible was not given to save us trouble by teaching us Natural Science.

If you read the ancient Cosmogonies of other lands, whether Hindu, Chaldean, Greek, or Scandinavian, you will find they cannot go beyond the first sentence without falling into errors, most of them absurd enough and even the best of them wholly insufficient, while in this our scanty record given us by the Spirit of God, the narrative is carried through to the very close, true and unblemished by even the least mistake.

Israel knew no more Science than any other nation, and conceived of the solid earth as floating on an abyss of water, with sun, moon and stars set in a crystal dome above; yet the Spirit of God has guided the hand of the scribe to steer between his mental errors into the narrow safety of truth.

In the first verse you have what Science demands as the five necessary presuppositions of Creation—

1. Time—In the beginning.
2. Force—God.
3. Energy—Created.
4. Space—The heavens.
5. Matter—And the earth.

The first day's work is the sweeping together of the wreaths of cosmic dust into fiery streams; heat is not observable to a spectator, so it is only the Light that is mentioned. The second day's work is the completion of the shape of the earth, when the dateless, formless ages are over, and the records of Geology can begin to tell their tale. Thus it goes on; the whole of the inorganic world is in good working order before life is introduced, and of the two great forms of life, it is that of the vegetable that first reaches to size and power. Of animal life, it is the lower and cold-blooded forms that prevail first, and only

at the very end of the Creation Period do the warm-blooded creatures appear, man, both male and female, being made at the same time. This is only the physical fact of sex, the mental and spiritual differences between man and woman coming on the scene later.

Then, again, observe how the purpose of the whole is brought forward as existing before the completion, "And God said . . . and God made"—and this formula is repeated eleven times in all, giving us a hint of the duration of time, as well as of an aim kept steadily in view. In four seconds a man may say deliberately, "I will build myself a house," and it may take him four years to accomplish his design. There are over 30 million seconds in a year, so the work takes 30 million times longer than the speaking. Also look at the sparing use of the word "create." To *make* is to modify existing materials, but to *create* is to originate. Now, there are three great bewildering questions in our minds—How did Matter, as we know it, come into being? How did Vitality spring out of the inorganic world? How did Man come out of the world of animal vitality? The gap in each case is unfathomable. See how the word "create" is reserved for these three gaps alone, and all else comes under the heading "made." The answer to our questions is in no mechanical process unfolding itself, but lies with God and God only, "Author and Finisher."

It is tempting to go into further details, but we must pass on to Prof. Christlieb's third division of difficulty. This he considered most formidable, and yet we find that the questions solve themselves if once we admit the principle of gradual or evolutionary creation, for this surely applies to the mind and character of mankind as well as to the powers of his body. It is at this point that the parallel between the individual and the race is eminently instructive, and certain bright little diagrams illustrative of our long-past history are ever in our nurseries. When the age of actual infancy, the period of passivity, is past, we come into the age of self-will, when the babe grasps at everything, and is more prone to destroy than to build. Of this period we have hints in the evil of the world before the Flood, and in the old tyrannies of brute force such as Nineveh and Babylon. From five years old onward comes the age of chatter, the enchanted time of real childhood, when imagination is vivid, and the word "Why?" is ever on our lips. Here we have the brilliant Greek, with his fairy-tales and his love of adventure; and in the Bible we have the beautiful figure of Abraham, the good and happy child at home living under no strict rule, but in direct and complete communication with his Father. We must all revert to the type of Abraham, and this is why spiritually he is called the "father of the faithful." But looked at historically, as soon

as the family develops into a nation the boy must go to school; sometimes this may appear to be a step downward, but it is inevitable. Then we have Sinai and the giving of the Law. Next comes the more silent period of adolescence, when we can begin to explain the reasons that lie behind the commands, and to show the noble purposes we have at heart for our sons; and these remonstrances and entreaties are represented by the Prophets.

With the vivid pictures of childhood always before us, with the nursery and the schoolroom for ever reminding us of what Ethical Immaturity involves, surely, surely, we need not stumble over the strange stories of the book of Judges and elsewhere. We can admit the misconception that to us at first seems shocking, that our God with his heart of love to all mankind was, to begin with, thought of as a tribal deity, with Baal or Dagon (equally real, but evil powers) entering into conflict with Him. We who are fathers and mothers, spiritually if not physically, know how to praise exceedingly imperfect work if it is an advance on the work of the day before. We may call a bit of sewing "very good," when, judged by our own standard, it is very poor indeed. The father may keep in his pocket a letter from his son at school, and count it a treasure, though it is blotted and misspelt, because it is by far the best yet accomplished, and expressive of thought and of affection. We need not go very far back, either, to see why the character of Jacob is approved and the deed of Jael praised, for we are still in Ethical Immaturity, though at a later stage. Only one century ago there was slavery. The conscience of mankind was not awaked to this great evil. St. Paul went to stay with Philemon in a house full of slaves, and this indifference went on for eighteen hundred years. The seed was sown—"There is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus"—but it lay long dormant. Did God not bless His people while this blot remained upon them? He blessed them abundantly, because He never confuses immaturity with sin. Sin is "to know the better and choose the worse," as St. Paul explains with the utmost clearness of illustration, and it is sin and only sin that meets with condemnation. We too may be blind. To the evils of Drink and the conditions under which Labour exists our eyes are but half opened, and a century hence people will stand in this room and wonder at us.

When we study these things, we begin to see how beautiful is the Bible, how inspired from end to end—pitiful to our low estate, kind to ignorance and misconception, unflinchingly stern on sin, with a standard that is never lowered. To Abraham God said, "Walk before Me and be thou perfect," i.e., let your deeds keep pace with your knowledge of Me; and nothing higher can be aimed at in our Lord's own words, "Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect." No need for

excuses and apologies for our Bible. If I had space we should see how the cruel exterminating wars and the bitter words of the imprecatory Psalms are all explained, and how, given the circumstances, these are the best things that could have been recorded for our instruction and our encouragement.

The great principle is that we are never to judge a thing, whether a plan, a work, or a person, by the primary stages—the inception—but only by the final stage—the completion. If you look at a statue half made, it may seem to you very poor and rough, but if you are a sculptor you may see the perfect form in the block. If you are planting out an orchard, you ask to see and taste the ripened apple before you make your decision as to the trees. If you are writing the life of a man, and summing up his character, you do not put against him the screams and rebellions of his infancy. Our God has been infinitely tender with our age-long immaturity, and has never been so far in front of us that we cannot understand Him. As soon as He could, He sent us His Son, the perfect Word of God, the translation of the eternal Heart of the Father into a series of words and deeds, such as we can understand. Jesus of Nazareth lived for us, and then suffered and died for us, and is now in the place of power sending the regenerative Spirit to all who come to Him. That is our present position, and it is full of hope, for it holds out a prospect of completion. We are to go on "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." No possible conception can go beyond that.

We have now spent enough thought on the three classes of objection brought against the Bible—the Literary and Historical, the Scientific, and the Ethical. There is, as I have already mentioned, a fourth class, the Psychological, but this is aimed at the work of the Spirit of God in the heart of man rather than at the letter of the Bible. We may leave it aside as beyond the limits of our present discussion.

Let us now turn to the entirely positive and constructive side of our subject.

As early as 1852, a good twenty years before my day, there was an undergraduate of Oxford, who wrote these simple lines:—

"I have a life in Christ to live,
But ere I live it must I wait
Till learning can full answer give
To this or that book's date?
I have a life in Christ to live,
I have a death in Christ to die;
And must I wait till science give
All doubts a full reply?"

Thirty years later I knew that man as the Principal of St. Andrews University, John Shairp. I was too diffident in my youth to converse with him, but it is evident to me now that he took exactly the position I am trying to explain, that of giving attention to the proposals of experts, and yet treating them all as secondary—less than secondary, almost negligible—because they touch the shell only. Our interest lies in the living kernel inside the shell, the immortal soul that dwells in the body, and of that we need full and complete corroboration given to us each individually. The issues that hang on it are immense, eternal, and we need a very strong proof before we can accept it as our guide through life. Have we this complete verification? I think we may say with confidence, *We have*, and need not fear to publish to all the world that we have found the truth.

One of our central texts is this: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday (in history), and to-day (in experience), and for ever (beyond the solemn portal of the grave)." Here we have the three divisions of time. The critic may point out that the records of the past are unreliable, and the spiritist may show us such a weak, unworthy future that we would rather not have it at all. No one can touch the present; it is all our own. Let us, I pray you, guard the present as our supreme treasure. Immaturity is no barrier. We cannot banish from life more wrong than is pointed out to us by the warning of the Holy Spirit, but this, coupled with prayer, effects all that we need. Under the present rule of Christ the shackles are struck from our hands, and the gates begin to open before us. What we know of His work now is the true criterion of the recorded pages of the Son of Man, and the vision of the King on the Throne. If we hear His guiding voice to-day, and see the miracles He is working in the world of the human character, we need fear nothing whatever; here we have reasonable ground for belief in the Gospel narrative in the past, and in the wonders of the unknown future.

Let me give an illustration. Suppose you are a student reading Roscoe's *Chemistry*, and you find there a curious fact, namely, that there are two white liquids which if poured together form a scarlet solid. How do you treat such information? Do you say, "It is contrary to all experience; mere fairy-tales; impossible!" Then you will never learn any chemistry. The subject is sealed to you for ever. Do you say, "Professor Roscoe knows far more than I do, and I believe every word from cover to cover. Even if he told me things far more wonderful than that I would believe them?" With such a temper of mind you would certainly learn some chemistry, but it would not be of an intelligent sort, not enough to help other people. For the moment let the book represent the Bible. The unbeliever rejects it entirely

because it does not come within the range of his experience, and the traditionalist believer accepts it entirely without examination, on the bare authority of the name on the title page. I myself have heard a good man say, "If the Bible told me that Jonah swallowed the whale, I would believe it," and if anyone else wants to enquire of such a mind for the truth, he can do nothing but hand them the book, and say, "Read this, and believe it. Everything you need is here." This is not the best temper of mind for a Christian or a student of chemistry either. The ideal student would say, "How wonderful! It is hard to believe such a thing is a fact! Let me go up to the laboratory and verify it!" He goes up, shuts himself in, prepares the material and makes the great venture. Nothing happens. Does he throw the book down and say, "There, I've done with it. I was afraid it was all lies and delusions, and now I see that it is." No, he lays the blame not on the book but on himself, saying, "What can I have done wrong?" He reads the instructions over again, discovers the mistake, and tries once more. If he is but a beginner this may happen several times, but his faith in the book remains unshaken. It is present experience is the test. He says, "Others have attained this result, so why may not I?" and with still more exact obedience he follows every detail. Surely when at last the little scarlet lump lies in the test-tube before his eyes, he may exclaim with assurance, "I have found the truth!" It is the experience of the immediate present that is the proof of the validity of the recorded page of the past, and the foundation of confidence for the future.

The most important part of life is this bringing conviction to our own selves. The words in the Bible stand sure, expressed in many different ways, that the Lord will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him, but our eyes are blind and our hearts are stubborn, and it is hard to stand at the foot of the Cross and wait. But let this new flame be lighted within, and we are free to look around us and see how wonders of the same kind are going on in the hearts of others. A good part of the work is left to the living voice of the Church of Christ, but even this is useless unless it is backed up by the words of the Bible. Look at our vast fields of Missionary work, read the annual report of the Bible Society, or the Scripture Gift Mission, enquire what the Army Scripture Readers are doing, or the Ranyard Nurses, or the men of the London City Mission, or any other such Christian agencies, and you will find that the Bible itself is the "power-house" from which they can draw their force. It may be somewhat crudely treated, but as long as there is not an intentional rejection of the light given us, as long as the Holy Spirit is obeyed in all simplicity, the blessing of God will always follow this faithful recurrence to the words He has given us.

If we turn to the more educated minds, we must be yet more careful. The generation immediately below our own is just now costing us acute anxiety by its rebellion against a final authority, whether in Church, or State, or Bible, or Home, and we can only help it by following the more personal clue. The recorded words of our Lord may have absolute authority for us who know Him, but those who do not must never be faced with a quotation as final. If you are merely "shocked" at their questioning, you will shut them up into silence. These souls are worth the winning, and I do pray you to spare them the dark tunnel through which I walked for so many years. Read the books they read, face the questions they have to face, and if this is not possible to you, put your weight on the type of conduct that can be produced by faith, for this is the one witness that from age to age never wears out. Meanwhile I pray you to make as few mistakes as you can, even in dealing with the outer shell of our beloved Book.

The Bible is like the field of corn which yields us daily bread. The husk and the straw must not be offered in place of the living kernel, the food of the soul, and yet we must always remember that straw and chaff are absolutely indispensable for the growth of the grain within, and should not be spoken of slightly, but treated with respect.

There is a good illustration in the Fourth Gospel of how we are apt to pay for every mistake we make. Philip, filled with enthusiasm, says to Nathaniel, "We have found Him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph." This short sermon has in it five statements, and two of them are errors. Had Philip said, "Jesus of Bethlehem, the son of David," all would have gone smoothly, and the triumphant shout, "We found Him!" would have produced the desired effect; but, alas, error is more active and blatant than truth, and Nathaniel, who knew his Bible well, stumbles over the word "Nazareth." Philip is checked barely for an instant. He knows that his conviction is not founded on rational and intellectual grounds offered by the past, but that sight, hearing, touch in the immediate present all have something to do with the result on his own heart. Philip is very wise. He feels sure that somehow or other the obtrusive Nazareth will be brought into harmony with the promised Bethlehem, for, after all, these are only outward conditions, and the core of the message he is so eager to deliver remains intact:—"We have found Jesus, long foretold, and now really here." So, without contending, or denying, or arguing, he only says, "Come and see," sure that on the same personal data the same conclusion would be reached by his friend. And it was reached, for at a bound Nathaniel outran

his leader, and gave the first witness to the true position of our Lord. Nazareth and Joseph could wait, to be cleared up later on.

Here we close. Truth is one because God is one. The same God who created the world of matter gave us His Son into the world of the soul. He who so carefully formed the mind of man, with all its desires after rationality, perfection, and eternity, also put into our hands the Bible as we have it to-day. We must always seek for the Unification of our knowledge, for we cannot believe two contradictory things. We can therefore be grateful to the experts for their searching examination into every nook and corner of the varied regions on which the Bible touches, for every bit of true discovery brings the Unification nearer; but we ever remember that only the Spirit of God who wrote this Book can read it, that the Bible not only *was*, but *is* inspired, and will never lose its power. It is in this thought that we come on the extraordinary value of the present. The rule is, "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." The critic may handle ably enough the blade and the preparatory outer form, the ear of straw, but if he suggests that is the whole, his judgment is spiritually worthless, for he proves himself blind to the treasure within. It is the "full corn in the ear," the ever-new and ever-working life that lies hidden inside, that is received into the heart and changes the conduct. All else is but means to this end. Here is the one proof that never fails while the centuries come and go. When our eyes are opened and we know Christ as our Saviour and King, we see Him like a lighthouse in the middle of history, throwing His long beams backward over the obscure and painful details of the past, as well as forward over the unknown future. There is nothing to fear either way. We came from the lowest, and we are, by His grace, to rise to the highest. But His chief work lies ever in the present. "To-day if ye will hear His voice," and the only time over which we have control is *to-day*. "Behold, now is the day of salvation," and our personal history is one prolonged *now*. "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come." The appeal to the human will to exert itself is made both by the divine ever-present Spirit and by the living Church that walks the earth in all humility, and by these voices God fulfils His great purpose for mankind, that of "bringing many sons unto glory," and gathering around His Throne "a great multitude that no man can number."

DISCUSSION.

Lt.-Col. BIDDULPH said, with reference to a God of Love and the Imprecatory Psalms: The Divine Unity forbids us to regard the Almighty in any single attribute at the expense of His other attributes. Thus, if His love be taken regardless of His holiness, justice, and hatred of sin, we should not get the God of Revelation. At

His first coming our Lord Jesus Christ displayed pre-eminently the love of God; but "the day of vengeance of our God" is reserved for His second coming.

"The Bible has an outer shell as well as an inner kernel."

If science may at times appear to kill the shell, it still leaves the kernel unscathed. The Bible speaks primarily to man's heart, rather than to his intellect. To the Christian it is not of consequence whether the life of the present world is thought to be the result of evolution through long ages, or was brought in by the Divine fiat, as an act of creation after a period of chaos. But whichever view be held, there is no doubt that man is not the result of evolution, for "God created man in His own Image." I find it best to take Gen. I. literally, including the six days; but this does not forbid an interval between verses 1 and 2 as vast as any geologist may require, and which can contain all the speculations of science, for the Bible passes over it in silence. The mere fact that science alters or amends its theories every few years, and requires fresh handbooks continually, while the Bible stands for all time, should be sufficient to indicate the unreliability of the former when it opposes revelation.

Dr. SCHOFIELD thanked Miss Maynard for her valuable and charming paper that left such a delightful taste behind it. With reference to the disputed unity of authorship of Isaiah, he remarked that the first half of Isaiah has God's people for its subject, the second half the coming Messiah; and that a chief difficulty in supposing dual authorship is that the man who wrote chapters 40 to 66 could possibly have remained unnamed and unknown. With reference to Gen. I. he said:—

Its great value is that it is absolutely unscientific. Had it been otherwise and written in the science of its time, it would certainly have to be amended and altered at least every 50 years.

Dr. Schofield said: I put this years ago to Canon Driver, who pointed out that the writer probably thought the firmament was an inverted copper bowl over the earth with small holes for the rain, and other apertures for sun, moon and stars. I asked him, "If I grant that this probably represented the last word of the science of his day, of which he must have been as proud as we are of ours to-day, how is it he says nothing about it in the chapter? What power restrained him from writing scientifically, and what mind guided him to using instead, broad words without definition that stand for the science of all ages?

Mr. W. HOSTE wrote:—

Our thanks are due to Miss Maynard for her most interesting reminiscences. This is not the first time that Girtten, at least, has justified her existence to the Victoria Institute. I was reminded in reading the paper, of Pascal's remark, "Le

cœur a des raisons, que la raison ne connaît pas." Would not the title of the paper have been more fittingly "Thoughts in the 20th Century on the Bible"? At any rate the Bible, like the sun, is the same as ever, and holds serenely on its way in spite of storms. As for the Imprecatory Psalms and similar difficulties, does not Augustine's dictum explain much, "Distinguish the dispensations and you harmonise the verities." I nowhere find that God approved of the mean character of Jacob. God loved Jacob because he valued spiritual blessings, but his meanness brought him through many a trying chastening at the hand of God. It really puzzles me how anyone can read such passages as Leviticus 18, 24, 25, and Chap. 20, 23, also Deut. 18, 12, in their context and yet find an insuperable ethical difficulty in the extermination of the Canaanites. The question of the future destiny of all is nowhere raised. It was good for the world at large that such a hideous moral cesspool should be hygienically and drastically dealt with. Experts, especially those who go out of their province, are the worst of witnesses. Their triumphs in their proper domain are apt to engender a certain dogmatism, which is very impatient of a contrary opinion. In the Dreyfus case M. Bertillon, who had made a name for himself as the inventor of the criminal anthropometric system, undertook as a professed expert of orthography to prove on a black board in open court in Paris that Dreyfus had written the "Bordereau." Doubtless he fully believed in his own infallibility, as the higher critics seem to do in theirs, and thousands of Frenchmen, hypnotised by his reputation in other spheres, did not believe he could be wrong, and accepted his conclusions; but it was afterwards proved that Capt. Dreyfus did not write a letter of the famous document. The reverse is, I believe, true of Deuteronomy; it is one of the foundation books of the Bible. No other book is more often quoted in the New Testament, no other so often in the Old. It is woven into the very warp and woof of the Scriptures, and if Moses did not write it, as is asserted all through, then the whole book is a patent forgery. According to the lecturer all these things are the shell merely, but I cannot think the illustration very happy; though, of course, the kernel is the essential. Experience teaches that though you may find many a bad kernel in a good shell, you never find a good kernel in a rotten shell.

Mr. HOSTE concluded by quoting Professor G. DANA's testimony to the profoundly philosophical character of the first chapter of Genesis.

LIEUT.-COL. MACKENZIE said:—

A most valuable paper. I am in hearty agreement with its general trend as far as I understand it. Our warm thanks are due to the author for her careful description of the condition of a young Christian, taught to shrink from the consideration of

modernist ideas, but afterwards, in maturity, investigating for herself the current thoughts which spring up around us.

I am in hearty sympathy with her remark (p. 44), that you won't win those who have leanings to destructive criticism and agnosticism if you are simply shocked. Sympathy, experience, and wisdom should be freely and wisely employed.

Many minds, especially young ones, are apt to blindly follow the teaching of some respected leader without the exercise of any thought or judgment themselves. This is true both for Christians and for unbelievers. Some remain in this condition all their lives, but others, as they grow older, take the trouble to investigate for themselves. I often think it would be a great gain if more Christian leaders were themselves much more deeply taught than most of them are at present, in science and in the methods of modern thought. They would then be able to lend a helping hand to those in intellectual difficulties and lead them out of dark tunnels (pp. 34 and 44). Miss Maynard has thought for herself and (under divine guidance) with faith more firmly established. It is the aim and object of the Victoria Institute to help all of us to do the same.

Some of her statements are, however, surely too sweeping for strict accuracy; for instance (p. 37) "Witchcraft and a thousand superstitions" have not all fallen, even now. Science cannot truly be found to have always won (p. 37). Miss Maynard's want of care (p. 34) for the evidences of monuments and inscriptions will hardly, I think, commend itself to most thoughtful minds. How can a *thing* (p. 34) be said to have a soul? Would not the word *spirit* be more correct than *soul* on pp. 33, 36, and 42? And the words *two transparent and colourless liquids* than *two white liquids* (p. 42)?

The simile of the kernel and the husk, or shell, so frequently used (pp. 34, 35, 36, 44) in the paper before us seems to be an unfortunate one to use, because it lends itself to the popular dictum that the Bible only *contains* the word of God (the kernel) mixed up with much of man's fallible work (the husk). Our author, however, apparently guards herself (pp. 43, 45) against this interpretation by her statement that the Bible is the word of God; by which she means, I take it, that all in it, both kernel and husk, is indeed the word of God; but if this is her meaning it does not seem to be a happy expression that part of the word of God is ~~husk~~ or shell!

I do not feel sure that our author (pp. 33, 37) has given the best explanation of the difficulties raised by ethical criticism, nor do I feel convinced that a fair comparison can be made between the human race in its earlier stages and a present-day child.

I quite agree that specialists and critics have their uses, but they also have their limitations, chiefly consisting of a certain

narrowness of vision as any experienced barrister will tell you. I quite agree that it is most unwise to trust to their conclusions blindly.

Miss Maynard is certainly on solid ground when she tells us that no arguments and no learning will convince and convert an unbeliever as according to the Scripture which she quotes. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him (1 Cor. II. 14, p. 35). She is also right in saying that the attack in warfare is more successful than the defence—for that, I suppose, is the meaning (p. 36), of her Scottish parson's remark about the military and naval defence. As she rightly says, the facts of conversion, of lives changed from darkness to light, from misery and selfishness to happiness and love, are the "evidences for the truth of the word of God which can never be disputed or gainsaid" (p. 37).

MR. THEODORE ROBERTS felt they were all greatly indebted to Miss Maynard for her very interesting paper, with which he was in substantial agreement. As regards the creation, he was in agreement with the paper and not with the Chairman. He believed that each of the days in Genesis I. was intended to represent a period of time during which God acted in a particular way, like the millennial day of Christ's reign. Seeing that the sun and moon were not brought in until the fourth day, he could not conceive how the earlier days could possibly represent periods of twenty-four hours each. He was anxious that it should be made very clear that the truth of Christianity did not depend upon the disproof of evolution or whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not. For him the Resurrection of our Lord was the one sufficient proof of the truth of the Christian revelation. As regards the Higher Critics, he considered their theories as the result of isolated study in a closet, and thus lacking in the common sense which rubbing shoulders with their fellow men would have produced. He pointed out that the naturalness of the story of Joseph and his brethren disproved the finely spun theories of the critics as to its origin in Babylonian myths.

MR. T. A. GILLESPIE said: I am very glad to express my sincere appreciation of the most interesting paper which has been read to us. It brings to my mind the expressive way in which our late and esteemed member, Professor Langhorne Orchard, referred to the critic of Scripture, and in passing I feel constrained to say how much he will be missed at our meetings; for his marked humility of spirit and keen spiritual perception was certainly a treasure; the Society is the poorer to-day by his home call. He said any person who attempts to criticise the Bible must be the possessor of three qualifications, viz., (1) a reverent spirit, (2) an unbiassed mind, (3) an adequate scholarship—yea, and a fourth

more important still, he must be spiritual, and this to my mind is absolutely essential if any notice is to be taken of the critic; and it is here where I think Miss Maynard has been misunderstood—in her repeated reference to the outer shell and inner kernel of the Bible, for surely the critic who has not that divine life she speaks of on page 35 can only deal with the precious truths of Scripture superficially, as these things are hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes. I don't think Miss Maynard had any idea of dividing up the Word of God, although it might appear so by the way in which she has expressed herself.

I was pleased the Chairman spoke of the imprecatory Psalms, as the critic entirely loses sight of the fact that when these were written there was no revelation of a final judgment. These Old Testament utterances teach us how thankful we ought to be that we are living in the light of the Gospel and under the law of Love. At the same time proving clearly that God's righteous judgment will overtake the impenitent sinner.

MR. COLLETT remarked that the word "discerner" in Heb. xii. 4 is really "critic," and shows that the Bible is intended to criticise us. Not many years ago we were told that Moses could not possibly have written the Pentateuch, because writing was not known in his days. It is now well known that the art of writing was practised hundreds of years before Moses was born. Mr. Collett said that he instinctively shrank from the use of such words as "husk," "straw" and "chaff" to describe any part of God's Holy Word. He argued from Exodus xx. 9 to 11 that the days of creation ought to be taken as periods of 24 hours; and from John xii. 38 and 40 that the fifty-third and sixth chapters of Isaiah respectively quoted must have the same author.

THE REV. A. CRAIG ROBINSON expressed cordial agreement with many of the sentiments of Miss Maynard's paper, but thought that she treats too lightly the consequences which were bound to follow, and as a matter of fact have followed, the rationalistic theories of German critics, which have made infinitely more difficult all evangelical work at home or in the mission field. He then detailed three striking arguments for believing in the early date of the Pentateuch.

Dr. D. ANDERSON-BERRY writes:—

Sir,—When I read the paper for the first time I was charmed by the beauty of its language, the rhythm of its sentences, the balance of its thoughts, and the exquisiteness of its style. Instead of criticising the author's views, and probably being mistaken, I would state my own belief.

Miss Maynard speaks of passing through a dark tunnel. I on my part fell into a dark pit when I cast my beliefs into the melting-pot kept a-bubbling by the flames of hell. I cannot here enter on the causes. Sufficient to say that I learned why the

religions of the world depict a cruel God, Whom to propitiate sacrifices are offered, even human. Christianity alone offers to the race something different.

But then Christianity is not a religion. It is a revelation and a faith—a revelation whose author is God, and whose subject is Himself.

I believe in the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. To me it is the Word of God, a revelation of Himself. Putting forward no explanation as to inspiration, I hold this book to be this revelation, not merely to contain a revelation.

God's revelation is a light that shows not only the greatness of its source but displays the squalor of the place into which it shines. The former explains the kernel, the latter the husk. We would never have thought the conduct of the people in the Old Testament cruel, treacherous, etc., but for this Light. Civilisation would not make us look askance at them, for, human nature being always the same, their conduct can be matched—yes, overmatched.

The author speaks of experts. As long as they confine themselves to the bringing out of facts which, but for their skill and special knowledge, might remain unnoticed, all is well. It is when they come to deductions, opinions, suppositions, and so forth, that we get contradictions. Of this Miss Maynard gives us a specimen.

Deuteronomy, the experts tell us, is a book written much later. But there are many experts that say just the reverse—higher critics, such as Van Bohlen, Vater, Vatke and Reuss. And a greater than any critic, even St. Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Romans, bases arguments on quotations from Deuteronomy, and expressly quotes from it as being from the pen of Moses. I might refer to St. Peter and Stephen as well as to our Lord Himself, but time forbids.

As to evolution. Well, I was a student when Darwin was fascinating my world. But to be true to science you must go the full length of evolution. The "ascent of man"? Well, one smiles and thinks of its author as a modern Issachar! You must go back to the first nebulousity so tenuous that a few million cubic miles of it weighs but a grain.

Out of this by slow processes and under strict law this world has come! And what a wonderful world! Read Fabre's books. The man whom Darwin himself called "that incomparable observer"! I take my stand humbly as becomes me in the presence of such a mind and believe him when he gently gibes at the evolutionist. Here is what he says about the logarithmic curve known to you for its mathematical expression and wonderful attributes. "We find it," says he, "in the spiral of a snail-shell, in the chaplet of a spider's thread, as perfect in the world of atoms as in the world of immensities. And this universal geometry tells us of a

Universal Geometrician, Whose divine compass has measured all things. I prefer that as explanation of the logarithmic curve of the nautilus and the garden spiders, to the worm screwing up the tip of its tail.

As to being gentle with the rising generation . . . the Bible that was good enough for me in the darkest hour of my life, they in their hour of need will find equally good. God has spoken, and He asks to be believed.

I would close in the words of our late learned President, the Earl of Halsbury: "I don't like the modern criticism," said, Lord Halsbury, "and I will not admit to being influenced by it in the least. To me the Bible is inspired, and if I believed anything else, I should die a miserable man."

Miss MAYNARD, in reply, said: The reception of my paper has been very kind.

The imprecatory Psalms have been mentioned, but not, I think, explained. There are two lessons our Divine Creator sets before man to learn—to hate sin, and to love the sinner. In dealing with immaturity, which would be taught first? To a young child, to love means both to caress and to imitate, and this is very unsafe. The wise plan is to begin with the hatred of sin and get that firmly established, and this to an immature mind means condemnation of the man who sins. That is a phase which cannot be helped. Only Christ can fully separate between man and sin, which He makes as clear as the separation between man and disease. Then comes in the reign of the Gospel, with the preaching of unending, unwearied love toward the sinner. In the imprecatory Psalms you see *half* the lesson being well learned. The hatred of sin is complete, the love to the sinner is still hidden in the future.

The question of pseudonymity was touched upon, and it was argued that it is not in human nature to give away magnificent productions of the spirit and the pen, and sign them with another man's name. This was adduced to cover the authorship of Deuteronomy, Isaiah, from the 40th chapter onward, and the majority of the Psalms. Now it may seem strange, but this was not the feeling of antiquity, and authors delighted in signing their work by the name of the great master they were following. I believe there are more than twenty spurious "Dialogues of Plato," borrowing the names of the speakers and all else, and the treatises signed *Galen* may be counted by the hundred. This surely may explain in part at least the authorship of the Pentateuch.

It was brought forward that our Lord during His Temptation quoted no other book but Deuteronomy, and that this was a guarantee of its Inspiration. Most certainly it is, but that does not include the date. There it stands, a part of our Bible for ever, a beautiful

tender, gentle restatement of the Laws of Sinai, in the terms of expostulation and entreaty, sent through some unknown prophet of Israel, when the early childhood of our race was over, and adolescence that can be reasoned with had taken its place.

It was well remarked by Mr. Roberts and by others as well, that scientific discoveries (whether eventually proved right or wrong), and questions of authorship and date such as the origin of the Pentateuch, are not the foundation of the Faith we hold. I believe with Mr. Gillespie that before the critic can be of any help in the personal salvation of man, he must himself be a partaker of the spiritual life, new born within. And yet, admitting these matters to the full, I still think it desirable that the older and more experienced minds should study the verdicts of criticism, and not leave them wholly to the judgment of the young and crude minds around us. The tide of secular thought and discovery is mounting, and cannot possibly be checked, and we must meet it with understanding and not with blank hostility. We are quite safe, we are on the winning side. The confession of Christ as God is the rock on which the whole Church is built, and we have the promise that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.

637th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN THE CONFERENCE HALL,

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday,
January 23rd, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following Associates: The Rev. Wilfred H. Isaacs, M.A., F. J. Moon, Esq., Mrs. W. G. Martley, Vincent C. H. Millard, Esq., M.A., Miss Mildred Duff, and Mrs. Agnes S. Whipple.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Sydney T. Klein, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., to read his paper on "The Invisible is the Real, the Visible is only its Shadow." The lecture was illustrated by physical experiments.

"THE INVISIBLE IS THE REAL, THE VISIBLE IS ONLY ITS SHADOW." Illustrated by physical experiments. By SYDNEY T. KLEIN, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.M.S., &c.

IN other words, the Spiritual is the Real, the physical is only its shadow-form, as depicted on our finite organs of perception.

Let us firstly clearly understand what we mean by Real and Unreal.

To most people the world in which we live seems very real and it is difficult for them to believe otherwise; but the longer we investigate and the more knowledge we thereby gain of our surroundings, the clearer we see that behind all phenomena there is a wonderful incomprehensible "power" which we call the Spiritual, and that that power is quite beyond our senses of perception and therefore of our conception, except in its effects, namely, those appearances which in detail we call phenomena and in the aggregate we call the Universe.

In whatever direction we pursue our investigation we indeed find that *ultimately* it is always the Unknowable which is the ~~cause~~ cause of the Knowable; the Invisible the cause of the Visible. On the other hand those who have not investigated or looked beyond the horizon of everyday life and who insist that the Visible is real because they live and move and have their being therein, can only look upon the Invisible as shadowy and *unreal*. But a little thought shows this conclusion to be quite untenable, because if the Invisible is unreal and the Visible real it would make the *unreal* actually the cause of the real, which is, of

course, absurd. We have therefore to acknowledge that the Invisible is real and is the cause of the Visible which we call the universe, and it remains for us to see whether the Visible is also real.

I propose to lay before you certain facts to show that though we have become accustomed to accept the reality of our surroundings and have thus concluded that there are two worlds, the Invisible and the Visible, in reality there is only one world. I shall show that the Visible, namely, the world of our everyday life, or what I will call the world of appearances, is only real in the sense that dolls, wooden horses and toys may be said to be real to children; they are useful for their education, but are really only make-believes to help their infant minds to expand and grasp higher truths.

The human race is steadily progressing towards the goal to which the scheme of creation is carrying us; but it is yet in its infancy as shown by the fact that we still require symbolism to help us to maintain and carry forward abstract thoughts to higher levels, even as children require picture books for that purpose. It is well therefore that we commence our investigation in a humble frame of mind, namely, that we first clearly realise our ignorance and the limitations under which only are we able to look out upon our surroundings.

Let us first consider how much many of us are dominated by this world of appearances in our everyday life.

We are each living in a little world created and furnished by our thoughts. The racing man lives in a world furnished with all the paraphernalia of horses, stables and jockeys, with a long list of future racing engagements and preparations for winning races years in advance. The business man is in touch with other business men in all parts of the earth, and is living in a world dominated by thoughts of transactions and financial calculations for present and future money-making. A member of the Stock Exchange is living in a turmoil of thoughts of stocks and shares and their probable value from day to day. The gambler is in a whirl of thoughts of possible luck in his world of chance. A market gardener is planning from year's end to year's end how he can most profitably bring his produce to perfection and how, even in the winter months by means of glass-houses, he can grow fruit and vegetables which nature would only produce during the summer. The physicist is living in a world of atoms, radio-activity, chemical analyses and synthesis, and the tremendous forces of nature which he can let loose and control; he is so engrossed in his experimental research and calculations that he can hardly allow himself the necessary time for sleep. Others are striving for worldly possessions, larger estates, and other means by which they can appear great.

to the world; and alas! many others are struggling for a mere pittance for their daily bread. All in different ways are living in a world of physical domination created by their thoughts in this world of appearances. They are worshipping the fetish of the *visible*, as though it were the real, and if at times they are urged to think of the Invisible, the wonderful true *meaning* of our life here, they cannot find time for its consideration and put it off till to-morrow—which never comes.

It was this obsession which made the last war possible. For many years before the final cataclysm in 1914, the human race in almost every country was steadily raising up and worshipping the fetish of outward material power and ignoring the real inner spiritual life to which the scheme of creation is carrying us.

This obsession was more in evidence in Germany than in any other country. The *value* of the Invisible was ignored and with it went all reverence for religious and ethical ideals. Pride of intellect supplanted spiritual discernment with the result that all thoughts and actions became wholly governed by the desire for self-aggrandisement. Ruthless ambition for mastery was taught in their schools as the true aim of life, and was openly advocated by their politicians, irrespective of the rights of weaker nations, culminating in the audacious dream of "Germany above all," with Berlin as the centre of a world-wide domination. The war has been a terrible lesson, but the shock has brought the human race to the point of awakening to a new and better aspect of life. It may even be realised that that shock has been a blessing in disguise, and that without it an even greater upheaval later on would have been necessary to have the same effect.

We will now examine this world of appearance and try to realise how very limited is the outlook we can employ for understanding our surroundings. Let us first examine our sense organs through which, only, can we get knowledge of that outside world. It is only comparatively lately that by the study of embryology we have discovered that all our sense organs have been developed from the same source, namely, from the outside skin. In the embryo of every animal we see that the first vestige of the advent of each sense organ is a wrinkle or enfoldment of the external skin, and from this common beginning are, in due course, developed the organs by means of which we become aware of our surroundings.

These organs are all formed on the same plan, namely, for the detection of vibrations or movements in the æther, air or matter, and they are each endowed with bundles of nerves or nerve processes which can be affected sympathetically by the particular pitch of vibrations which that organ is meant to receive. Each organ is therefore limited to a certain range of perception, and though in the last fifty years we have invented instruments to

extend the powers of those organs, we are still looking out upon our surroundings in a very rudimentary manner; we have indeed to acknowledge that the human race is so much in its infancy that our eyes and other organs of perception can hardly be said to be yet opened.

The two organs by which we principally gain knowledge of our surroundings are those of sight and hearing, and I will now demonstrate to you how narrow is the possible range within which they can be used in our attempt to investigate the world of appearances.

What we call hearing is the apprehension of vibrations in matter, mostly in the form of the air we breathe; and when these vibrations strike the ear in regular succession, beyond a certain number in a second, they produce the effect of what may be called a solid or continuous sound, namely, a musical note. If a number of these notes are sounded together, we call it a noise. Below sixteen vibrations in a second the ear can hear them as separate beats but beyond that number the sound is continuous. If I had no regard for your feelings I could have arranged to illustrate this by loud explosions or pistol shots fired in quick succession, and up to fifteen explosions in a second you would have heard them separately, and the noise would have been so terrific that I should no doubt have quickly lost you all as an audience; but if you could have endured the pain you would have had a great surprise when the rate had reached sixteen explosions in a second; as if by magic the harsh noise would suddenly have disappeared and in its place, though the explosions were still going on, you would have heard a wonderful deep musical sound like that given out by the longest pipe of an organ. I have however arranged the experiment in a gentler fashion and its demonstration will be pleasant instead of painful.

I have here a large metal disc, which can be revolved at a high speed, and I have had holes drilled regularly on it in concentric circles ranging from sixteen up to five hundred in the different circles. We will arrange for a puff of air to be forced through each hole singly as it is brought round by the revolution of the disc, and when the puffs occur at a lower rate than sixteen in a second you can hear them as puffs, but beyond that number you will hear them as a musical sound and each of the circles will give a special note according to the number of holes therein. On the same disc I have also drilled in concentric circles a sequence of holes, in the exact ratio necessary for combining harmonies, and you can hear that from puffs of air from a single nozzle can be produced the principal chords of the musical clef.

As already stated, the lowest musical note the ear can hear is formed by sixteen vibrations in a second, the octave above

this is formed by thirty-two vibrations, and the next octave by sixty-four vibrations, namely, by doubling the number for each octave, and so on until we reach about the tenth octave, where the pulsations are close on twenty thousand in a second, when the sound passes beyond the range of human audition, although we can show that the air is still vibrating and we can count the number of beats and thence ascertain the pitch for another three octaves.

We now have to traverse *numerically* only about thirty-one octaves, which contain all the pulsations in the æther which we use in wireless telegraphy and also those we appreciate as radiant heat, and we then arrive at the rate of frequencies which, when they strike the eye, gives us the impression of light. The lowest rate gives us the colour red, followed by orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet. Colour in light is identical with pitch in music, they both depend upon the rate of pulsation that strike our organs of sight and hearing.

If I had time I could have shown by means of the photo-chromoscope that the colours red, green and violet are produced by three rates of frequencies which are in exactly the same ratio to each other as those of the first, third and fifth which compose the major triad in music; and that those three colours when combined produce pure white light. The whole range of sight therefore only covers a little over half an octave, and above and below this there is darkness for us; and yet it is by means of this about half an octave that we have to see all our surroundings. What a world of knowledge is therefore lost to us by the narrowness of the slit through which we are able to look. We can perhaps understand our limitation in sight better if we think what a world of sound would be lost to us if our range of hearing only covered half an octave. It is true that we have invented instruments which enable us to examine pulsations extending slightly beyond visible light, and have indeed lately made a stride by the discovery of the Rontgen Rays which are situated twelve octaves above the violet light rays, but taking the total range of our perception, we find that after all we are limited to what may be called a few inches only on the long line of infinite extent, reaching from the finite up to the infinite.

Having thus realised the narrowness of our outlook and that knowledge of the world of appearances is so entirely dependent upon *vibration* or movement in the æther, air or matter, and that without those vibrations we should have no knowledge of our surroundings, we will carry our subject another step forward by considering how that narrowness of outlook and our ignorance surrounds us with illusions.

One of the greatest illusions we have is what we call *solidity* or continuity of sensation. If you hold a cannon-ball in your

hand, perception by the sense of touch tells you that it is continuous or what is called solid and hard; but it is not so in reality except as a concept limited by our finite senses. A fair analogy would be to liken it to a swarm of bees, for we know that it is composed of an immense number of independent atoms or molecules, which are darting about and circling round each other at an enormous speed but never touching; they are also vibrating at a definite enormous rate which we can, at will, increase by heat or reduce by cold. If we heat the cannon-ball we increase this vibration so that the cohesion of the atoms decreases so much that the iron becomes liquid, and further heating produces volatilization, where the property of what we call solidity disappears. Let this vapour now be cooled and, passing again through a fluid state, the cannon-ball takes on the appearance of solidity. If our touch perception were sensitive enough we should feel the vibration of the atoms and should not have the sensation of a solid. We have a similar case of limitation in our other senses. As I have already shown you, we can hear pulsations only up to fifteen in a second, beyond that number they give the sensation of a musical or continuous sound. In our sense of sight we can see pulsations or intermittent flashes up to only six in a second, beyond that number they give the sensation of a continuous light; a gas jet, if extinguished and re-lit six times a second, can be seen to flicker, but beyond that rate it is to our sense of sight a steady flame; the same effect may be shown by the red glow of the top of a match; when stationary or moving slowly it is a point of light, but, moved quickly, it becomes a continuous line of light. Even apart from our senses we find motion giving the characteristics of solidity. A wheel, with only a few thin spokes, if rotated quickly enough, becomes quite impenetrable by any substance, however small, thrown at it. A thin jet of water only half an inch in diameter, if discharged at great pressure, equivalent to a column of water of 500 metres, cannot be cut through even with an axe, it resists as though it were made of the hardest steel. A thin cord hanging from a vertical axis, and being revolved very quickly, becomes rigid, and if struck with a hammer, it resists and resounds like a rod of wood. A thin chain and even a loop of string, if revolved at a great speed over a vertical pulley, becomes rigid and, if allowed to escape from the pulley, will run along the ground as a hoop.

Again we appear to have no sense of *direction* when travelling through space, except by noting passing objects. If we are in a train with the blinds down we cannot tell in which direction we are going, and even if we have that knowledge, and the train by going in and out of a terminus has, without our knowledge, changed its engine so that we, without moving, are occupying a back instead of a front seat, we are not conscious of this.

change; and even if we now look out of the window it requires quite an effort to realise that we are not going back to our starting point. In the course of everyday life we are hurried about in trains and motor cars and feel sometimes that we would like to escape for a time from the rush of continual movement; we say we will lie down on a sofa; but we are still being rushed through space a thousand times faster than an express train, though we have no knowledge of this, or the direction in which we are being carried. If the sofa is placed due east and west and we lie down at noon, we are being carried along at 60,000 miles an hour, the rate of the earth moving on its orbit round the sun. We are at first being carried, say, feet foremost, but in six hours time, without changing our position, we should be travelling sideways, and in a further six hours we should still be carried along, at the same enormous rate, but the direction would then be head foremost, and yet we should be quite oblivious of any change of direction.

I have shown elsewhere* under present conditions our conceptions of the immense and minute in the extension of Space, and the quick and slow in duration of Time, are pure illusions, they are based entirely on *relativity*. If at this moment we and all our surroundings were reduced to half their size and moving twice as quickly we could have no knowledge of any change; even if our Solar system were reduced to the size of one of the myriads of atoms in a needle point, so that the whole visible universe was reduced to the size of that point, each star taking the place of one of those atoms, and time were reduced in the same proportion, so that our earth would be revolving round the sun at approximately the rate that light travels, the condition which we know is actually taking place inside every atom to which I shall refer later, we could still have no knowledge of any change, our life would go on as usual. If the change were made in the direction of expansion in space and slowing down in time, so that each atom in that needle point became as large as our Solar system and the steel point as large as the visible universe, each atom taking the place of a star and motion reduced in the same proportion, it is still inconceivable that we could be conscious of any change having taken place, though the length of our needle, which was at first, say, an inch, would now be so great that light, travelling 186,000 miles per second, would take 500,000 years to traverse its length; and the stature of each one of us would be so great that light would require 36,000,000 years to travel from head to foot; and that 36,000,000 years would have to be multiplied 163,000,000 times, making 5,868 millions of millions of years to represent the time that an ordinary *sneeze* would take under such conditions.

* Science and the Infinite, pp. 13-16.

And yet we have only gone towards the infinitely great as far as we at first went towards the infinitely small, and it is still absolutely inconceivable that we could be conscious of any change; our everyday life would go on as usual, we should be quite oblivious of the fact that every second of time, with all its incidents and thoughts had been lengthened to 5,868 millions of millions of years. We thus see that immensity and minuteness in extension of space, and quickness and slowness in duration of time are figments only of our finiteness of outlook.

There are hundreds of other examples I could give you of illusions in the world of appearances, but I must be content with only a few more of common experience.

The Sun and Stars are seen revolving round the earth, and it was only a few hundred years ago that this was discovered to be an illusion caused by the earth itself revolving on its axis, but for a long time the explanation was declared to be a sacrilegious invention, as it was contrary to Scripture, and those who dared to say it was an illusion were threatened with death.

The Moon is also seen to rise in the east and set in the west, and it is a common belief even now that the Moon is revolving round the earth in that direction, but this is quite an illusion because the Moon is really moving in the opposite direction, namely, from west to east; the illusion is caused by the fact that the earth is also revolving from west to east but twenty-nine times faster than the Moon takes to complete her orbit.

We think that the leaves of a tree are green, but they are not really so, they only absorb the red and the violet, the other primary colours contained in Sunlight, and reflect the green. If we had a leaf showing absolutely pure green colour, it would appear perfectly black in any light which did not contain green.

I have given these examples to show how we are surrounded by illusion through ignorance caused by our narrow outlook and our taking for granted that things in this world of appearances are what they seem rather than what they are.

To many it must be a puzzle to explain the phenomenon of what is called "up and down" in our consciousness. It is a fact that in our sense of sight all objects are inverted on the retina; for instance, the image of a tree is depicted there with its roots pointing upwards and its branches pointing downwards, namely, towards our feet, yet we see it right side up. It is however possible to arrange so that an image of an object is formed on the retina in its natural position and in that case we see it upside down. If a small hole is pricked in a card and held close in front of the eye so that a pencil of light passing through that hole impinges upon the retina, and a pin with its head uppermost is placed between the hole and the eye, the image of the head of that pin is thrown on the retina without being inverted, namely,

it is pointing what we call upwards, but our consciousness, which has learnt to deal only with inverted images, makes us see that pin with its head pointing to what we call downwards.

There are many who still persistently cling to the fallacy that "seeing is believing," they soon get tired of thinking otherwise and long to get back to their dolls, wooden horses and toys, though in every decade the truth is being driven home to them more and more that they are contenting themselves with make-believes. To such I would like to propound the question, "Can we really be said to have even seen matter?" Let us turn towards a common object in this room; we catch in our eyes the multitudinous impulses which are reflected from its surface under circumstances very similar to those in which a cricketer "fields" a ball; he puts his open hand in the way of the moving ball and catches it, and, knowing the distance of the batsman, he may perhaps recognise by the hard impact of the ball that he has strong muscles, but by no stretch of the imagination can he be said to *see* the batsman by that impact, nor can he gain the slightest knowledge as to his character or appearance. So it is with objective intuition, though in this case we are fielding myriads of impacts; we direct our open eyes towards an object and catch thereby rills of light reflected from it at different angles; by combining all these directions we have learnt to recognise form and come to the conclusion that we are looking at, say, a chair. The eye catches rills coming in greater quantity from certain parts and we say that those parts are *polished*; the eye catches rills of higher or lower frequencies and we call that colour; we also recognise that this chair prevents the eye from catching light rills reflected from other objects in the room and we say it is not transparent. These are the conditions under which we are said to *see* our surroundings and upon which is based the fallacy of "seeing is believing."

If we now take another step forward and analyse this phenomenon "Vibration," upon which, as we have seen, rests our very belief in the reality of our surroundings, we shall be able to realise that the whole outside world is really only a pseudo-conception caused by ignorance and the finiteness of our outlook. It has been sensed as real by our limited physical organs of perception but has no reality or value for us apart from those senses. The explanation is, as already pointed out, that all human sense organs depend entirely upon *vibration* or movement in the æther, air or matter for their excitation; without that form of incitation there would be no knowledge of the outside world, no perception and therefore no knowledge of physical existence. The cause of this absolute dependence upon movements for gaining knowledge of our surroundings is that all our sense organs are confined to working under the two modes

of perception or limitations called Time and Space, making *Motion* the only possible basis of objectivity, because motion is the combination of these two modes, the very sensing of motion is the perception of the *time* taken to traverse a certain *space*; and we cannot imagine motion unless it contains both of these modes in however small a quantity. We may have the greatest imaginable space traversed in a moment of time, or the smallest imaginable space traversed in what may be called, for want of a better word, an eternity; but we still have to postulate motion. This, of course, follows from the fact that when we are looking outwards, as we are doing when looking at the world of appearances, our thoughts require both these modes for forming concepts.

Let us now take another step forward and examine these two factors of vibration under which our senses act. If we try to analyse our conception of Time and Space we seem forced to postulate that they are both infinitely divisible and infinitely extensible, they are both what we call continuous and not discrete; both duration in time and extension in space can be reduced to a mathematical point. All parts of time are time, and all parts of space are space; there are no holes, as it were, in space which are not space, nor intervals in time which are not time, they are both complete units. Space cannot be limited except by space, and time cannot be limited except by time. So far they are alike, but on the other hand space is comprised of three dimensions, namely length, breadth and depth, whereas time has the appearance to us as comprising only one dimension, namely length.

Our conception of time is an inconceivable intangible something which gives us the impression of movement without anything that moves it. Space is an omnipresent intangible nothing, outside which nothing that has existence can be even thought to exist.

We arbitrarily divide each of these two modes of perception into two parts, which parts are separated from each other, in either case, by a point which has, apparently as its centre, our very consciousness of living. In the case of Space we call the point the *Here* and on one side of it we have extension towards the infinitely great and on the other intension towards the infinitely small. In the case of time, we call the middle point the *Now*, and on one side of this we have the duration of time towards the future, and on the other, what we call the duration of time towards the past. In the case of space we have the here and the *overthere*, equivalent in time to the present and the *future*; but though time and space are as it were twin sisters, upon whose combined action depends our very consciousness of existence, we do not treat them both equally.

It is a remarkable fact that the human race on this particular world has in some inexplicable way come to look upon the future as non-existent until we arrive at it and are able to perceive with our senses what is happening there. This is all the more inexplicable when we realise that in traversing space we have to *move* to get anywhere, but in traversing time we have nothing equivalent to movement. This way of looking upon the future as non-existent is probably another sign that our race is still in its infancy and that we have hitherto looked upon time not only as a reality but as actually moving or extending along a line from what we call the past to future eternity; whereas, under our present outlook, we have no consciousness of the existence of time except as intervals between successive thoughts. Our consciousness of the existence of time is based upon our repeating the *present* by saying to ourselves the words Now-Now-Now; but there is nothing that can be called movement in this any more than when we stand still and repeat the words Here-Here Here relating to space.

Our present conception of the future may at any time be rectified by either a slight rearrangement of the slender network of nerves or microscopical filaments attached to the cells in the grey cortical layer, or even by a single bridge thrown across from one convolution to another in the brain; a very slight alteration would open up to our consciousness the present existence of the future. The prime perceivable difference between our brain and that of the apes and other animals is the larger number of enfoldments or convolutions that are developed in the human. Each new line of thought, or sequence of thoughts, requires and is provided with a new wrinkle or microscopical convolution, and it probably only requires the attention of the race to be focussed for a time on the subject to evolve the slight alteration or bridge necessary to enable us to realise that the future, as also the past, does actually exist and is included in the Now. It may make this a little clearer to consider that if we maintain that, in traversing the duration of time, the future does not exist until we arrive there, we should also maintain that, in traversing the extension of space, our destination, say Rome, does not exist until we arrive there and can see it with our eyes.

That is as far as I can take you, in this present paper, towards the appreciation of this curious illusion of time, but I would like to say here that I could take you much further and that, from my own personal experience, it is not impossible to grasp the realisation referred to. In another place* I have indeed shown logically that it is quite conceivable that, at a not far distant date, the books which are *now* being written in the future, say even 5,000 years hence, may actually be in our hands, so

* Science and Infinite.

that we can read them, in a similar manner to that which enables us *now* to handle and read these which were written 5,000 years ago.

The more we study the subject of time and space the more clearly we see that they are only the temporal finite modes under which our senses act on the physical plane. They are temporal and therefore not real, in the sense that they are not eternal; the only Reality is the *Eternal Now* of time and *Here* of space.

Let me put before you another aspect to show that time and space are not realities except in the sense that they are limitations to our outlook.

The whole of the physical universe is what may be called the manifestation or materialisation of the Thought or Will of God. He is not subject to time limitation and that *Thought* must therefore have the aspect of being what we should call instantaneous. It is only the finiteness of our outlook under time and space limitations which necessitates our looking at Creation as though it were a long line of events, in sequence, extending from past to future eternity. Under these conditions we appear to be in a similar position to that of a being whose senses are limited to one dimensional space, namely to a line. We can only gain knowledge of what is in front and behind us in time, we know nothing of what is to the right or left. We appear to be limited to looking lengthwise in time, whereas an Omniscient and Omnipresent Being looks at time, as it were, crosswise and sees it as a whole. A small light, when at rest, appears as a point of light, but when we apply quick motion, the product of time and space, to it we get the appearance of a line of light, and this continuous line formed by motion of a point is, I think, analogous to the physical universe appearing to our finite senses as continuous in time duration and space extension, though really comprised in the *Now* and *Here*. We have a similar limitation in reading a book, we can only deal with it as a long line of words in succession, a long sequence of thoughts, whereas the whole book is lying complete before us.

A consideration of our limitation in space may also be useful to show how impossible it is for us to see by our senses the Reality or by our thoughts to know the Spiritual. Our senses and thoughts are limited to a space of three dimensions, and we can therefore only see or know that part of the Absolute which is or can be represented to us in three dimensions. A being whose senses were limited to a universe of one dimension, namely, a *line*, could have no knowledge of another being who was in a universe of two dimensions, namely, a *flat surface*, except so far as the two-dimensional being could be represented within his line of sensation. So also the two-dimensional being, on a *plane*, could have no true knowledge of a being like ourselves in a

universe of three dimensions. To his thoughts limited within two dimensions, a being like ourselves would be unthinkable, except so far as our nature could be made manifest on his plane.

So can it be seen that we, limited by our finite senses to time and space, and our consciousness dependent upon that limited basis of thought, can only know that aspect of the Reality or Spiritual which can be manifest within that range, namely, as Motion or what we call physical phenomena.

Again the Spiritual is the cause of all causation in the Universe, and what we call the forces of nature are only our limited aspects of Spiritual activity. Matter is one of these aspects, it is composed of atoms all of which are built up of exactly the same bricks. Each element has in its atom a certain number of these cosmic bricks, which number gives that element its special characteristics. These bricks are only units of electricity which, by vibrating at an enormous rate, send out impulses which affect our senses. Matter is therefore electricity, namely, one of the forces of nature, and is one of our finite aspects of the Spiritual. Each atom is somewhat similar to our Solar system. The cosmic bricks, namely, units of negative electricity, of which it is composed, are revolving at an enormous rate round the centre which is composed of units of positive electricity. If Spiritual activity were withdrawn, these bricks would have no *motion*, they would not come under our observation in time and space; matter would then cease to have any properties which could be detected by our sense organs and would cease to exist as an objective.

We see therefore that the whole world of appearances is only our limited aspect of the Spiritual; it is not real except in the sense that dolls, wooden horses and toys represent living beings to children, or as the shadow on the floor represents a table. If therefore we confine our thoughts to the outward forms as is done by many in the use of Intellection, we can never get to understand the Reality, the Spiritual, which underlies and transcends all phenomena. To do this we have to look inwards instead of outwards, to employ Introspection, or what St. Paul calls Spiritual discernment, to enable us to grasp the meaning of our life and surroundings here. St. Paul says that the unrighteous, namely, those who have no knowledge and therefore no love of God, shall be without excuse because "the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity (Romans i. 18-20 r.v.).

We with our limitations are thus forced to postulate two aspects of the universe; one of these is what is called the visible, finite or physical, which carries the appearance of reality to our finite senses, though it has no existence for us apart from those senses; and the other is that which transcends our utmost con-

ception, which we call the invisible, infinite or spiritual. We cannot conceive beyond the finite so long as we are conscious of living under present conditions. With every act of perception by our senses, or conception by our intellect we have therefore not only knowledge of the visible or finite, as far as Intellection can carry us, but we become at the same moment aware, by intuition, of the invisible, infinite beyond. So by the use of Introspection, as soon as we have gained a knowledge of our finite physical self with a clear comprehension of its limited modes of thought, we at once become aware of the Infinite Spiritual part of us transcending it. The spiritual part of us is our real personality, of which the physical self is only the outward manifestation or shadow on our plane of consciousness.

Let me suggest two psychological experiments which will prove to anybody, who will earnestly try them, how inadequate the intellect is for dealing with any subject beyond its narrow finite horizon:

Try persistently, say, for five minutes, to grasp the idea of the infinite extension of space; you won't be able to grasp it, but I want you to try the experiment. The longer you persist and try to master it, in the endeavour to get *there* in thought, the more impossible it becomes, until you have to give it up and acknowledge that it is absolutely inconceivable that space can extend without limit; but having done this you find that it is quite as inconceivable, and perhaps even more so, to think that space could be limited; there would always be the question what is beyond, and yet the Intellect insists that one of these two alternatives must be true, though it cannot conceive how either can be possible.

Again try persistently to master the idea of time duration. In our experiment on space, when we had reached a point where we began to gasp with bewilderment, we had a feeling of relief at the thought that after all we could, at the worst, stop our flight on our journey outwards into the vasty deep; we could as it were ignore the terrifying idea of unending extension; but in the experiment on time our consciousness cannot apply that anæsthetic to its bewildered brain; time for us is irresistibly rushing on and carrying us with it; we are helpless, we cannot call a halt and say we will go no further. Our bewildered mind may try to force the thought that surely there must be an end sometime; but the intellect, which is quite incapable of dealing with such a question, tells us that Time can never cease.

To those who are dominated by the world of appearances and look *outwardly* upon time and space and therefore believe them to be realities, such experiments, if persisted in for any length of time, would tend dangerously towards insanity; but relief comes immediately when, by looking *inwardly*, we realise that

both these appalling infinities of time and space are mere illusions, caused by the finite outlook of our *self-consciousness*. When, by looking inwardly we have cancelled that finite *self* and have become God-conscious, we are able to realise our oneness with the Great Spirit, and that our real spiritual being, the holy son of God growing up within us, always has been, is now and ever shall be in the *Eternal Now* comprising all time and the Here comprising all space, where there cannot have been a beginning and can be no end.

When we have realised that our real personality is our *inner* spiritual being, we have only to turn our thoughts in the right direction, namely, inwardly instead of outwardly, to have the power of employing spiritual discernment for sweeping away all those other inconceivables with which the misuse of Intellection has for so long surrounded us.

We have thus seen that the whole world of appearances can only be looked upon as the temporal condition under which the race is being gradually educated, and by means of which we are being prepared for an existence far transcending anything that we can even imagine in our present state of knowledge.

It is only in the last fifty years that we have entered a new era of Religion and Philosophy; we hear no more of the old fear that the study of scientific facts leads to atheism or irreligion; we have learnt to realise that Religion and Science are only provisional, they are both progressive in their outlook and are meant to go hand in hand towards elucidating the Riddle of the Universe; but the Scientist, on the one hand, must always remember that he is only looking outwardly at the shadow forms of that Invisible Power which is the cause of all causation, and that the real goal to which all knowledge is meant to lead us is the *vision* of that Reality.

The teachers of religion, on the other hand, must realise the value of scientific investigation. It can indeed only deal with the visible shadow forms, but these are shadows of the Reality, and the study of nature is one and perhaps the most important of the channels through which we are meant to gain a knowledge of nature's God. It is therefore clearly a duty that the teacher of religion should, by the help of Scientists, seek to become better acquainted than he usually is with the wonders with which God has surrounded us. St. Paul, in the passage quoted above, has pointed out the value of the world of appearances for gaining a knowledge of God, but he has also warned us against looking upon the visible as being itself the reality. His words are, "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are Eternal."

I have shown elsewhere* that before we can gain a vision of the

* Science and Infinite, chapter on "The Vision."

Reality we must realise that everything on the physical plane is only a shadow form or symbol of that which is on the Transcendental, and we must thus look upon Nature. Every leaf and blade of grass is as it were a letter or word conveying some portion of that wonderful "Thought" of God which we call Creation; as every word in a book conveys a portion of the thought contained therein.

Under finite physical conditions we are looking outwardly, namely objectively on, say, a forest tree, we say the trunk is brown and hard, the bark rough, the leaves green and the branches spreading out into space, that the branches wave about and creak, and the leaves rustle in the breeze; but these are only movements under the illusions of time and space. When we have escaped from this limited outlook and are able to look inwardly, namely subjectively, these outward forms will cease to have any value for us, we shall then understand the *meaning* of that tree in the scheme of creation. It is sad to see how many there are in this age of enlightenment who still confine their thoughts entirely to the outward material forms of everyday life, and have no thought of or desire to know the real meaning of their sojourn here; they are indeed like children who cannot read; they confine their attention to the printed letters and words and think that these outward visible forms are all that the book contains; they have no knowledge of the truth underlying these symbols. This is, I think, to a great extent, the result of the great advance in Intellectualism experienced during the last fifty years, which has tended to stereotype thought into Scientific formulæ and hard and fast dogmas, and these in their turn have, among the thoughtless, succeeded in strangling initiative and quenching desire for advancement in a knowledge of the true inner meaning of our surroundings. It is an age obsessed by controversy, dominated and camouflaged by intellectual gymnastics. We need to take a leaf out of the daily log of primitive man, or from little children, of whom we are told is the Kingdom of Heaven, and learn again to develop the power of *wondering* at and loving the beautiful in nature.

The old pictorial Hebrew description of the creation contains a fundamental truth sadly overlooked by those who, in fear that the Great Architect of the Universe should be thought to have made a serious structural error in an important part of the building, introduced Adam and Eve and the apple to account for the paradoxical existence of evil in a world created by a Being who was absolutely Perfect, Omniscient, Omnipotent, and All-loving.

"When God looked upon everything that He had made, behold it was very good."

From the infinite outlook of the Spiritual, the whole Universe, being the expression of His thought, must be absolutely perfect.

It is only the narrow finite range of our outlook through ignorance caused by race-infancy and our limited modes of perception which, by the assertion of Self, the cause of all imperfections and the antithesis of that purity or singleness of heart by which we see God, blinds us with the illusions of evil, ugly and false, which we read into our surroundings.

How then can we free ourselves from this obsession and obtain a glimpse of the real world, of which this world of appearances is only the outward shadow-form under the limitations of Time and Space?

In conclusion, I should like to answer that question, and to suggest, on the lines laid down in this paper, a way by which it is possible for anybody, of whatever form of earnest religious belief, to realise the presence within him of what I have referred to as his real spiritual personality, provided he has learnt to look inwardly instead of outwardly, at the reality instead of the shadow, namely at the *meaning* instead of the outward form of his surroundings.

Let me recapitulate. I have shown that the Invisible or Spiritual is the real and that the Visible or Physical is only its shadow-form as depicted on our finite senses under the limitations of time and space. We have therefore to postulate two aspects of the universe. The Spiritual which is immanent and transcendental, and the physical which constitutes our world of appearances. Every phenomenon in nature has therefore these two aspects, the Spiritual and the Physical.

If we analyse the human being we see these two aspects. The Spiritual, an emanation from the Great Spirit, is the holy Son of God growing up within each one of us and constitutes our real personality. The physical self is the shadow or presentation of that real personality, on the limited plane of our consciousness, it has the same life in common with all plants and animals, and probably, as I have shown elsewhere, with even inorganic matter and is a part of the world of appearances.

It is a fundamental truth that before we can become conscious of the real meaning and value of anything, we must be able to realise the connection which it has with our *being*. It therefore follows that the way to solve the problem before us is to understand the relation in which each of us stands to that wonderful *power* behind all causation in the world of appearances. In other words, the only way to know and realise the Spiritual is to feel our oneness with it; and in order to feel our oneness with the Spiritual under our present conditions of race-infancy and therefore ignorance, we have first to realise the oneness of the physical self, which is the outward shadow-form of our real Spiritual self, with the physical universe, which is the outward shadow-form of the Great Spirit.

This is indeed similar to the method suggested by St. Paul for gaining a knowledge of the Divinity of God, and I wish I had time to give practical examples, from my own personal experience, how it may be done; but my paper has already grown beyond what I intended and I must for the present be content with having pointed out the pathway by which it is possible for anyone, who will earnestly set himself to the task, to realise the presence of the Spiritual Son of God which is growing up within or in intimate connection with the earthly frame of each one of us, and which I have referred to as our real personality.

DISCUSSION.

After a hearty vote of thanks to the learned lecturer had been carried by acclamation on the proposition of Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD, the Chairman, the Doctor proceeded briefly to criticize the paper:—

On page 54, par. 3, we are told the spiritual is quite beyond our senses of perception, therefore of our conception.

I question if this is so altogether, I quite agree that God, by whom I presume the "spiritual power" is meant, cannot be comprehended by the finite, but I suggest that He can certainly be apprehended, and more fully if the precepts and concept be quickened by the Holy Spirit.

On page 65, par. 3, is a thought worth crystallizing. In time "*we appear to be in a similar position to that of a being whose senses are limited to one dimensional space, namely to a line.*"

I now come to what certainly requires a little altering and amplifying on pp. 68 and 71 "the Holy Son of God," and "the Spiritual Son of God" growing up within us. Inasmuch as the phrase "Son of God" is certainly borrowed from Scripture, the writer will agree with me that it should not be used in a non-Scriptural sense. The phrase never occurs of any man in the O.T., and but once of a nation "I have called my son out of Egypt." In the N.T. its first occurrence, referring to men, is in Romans viii. 14, "*For as many as are led by the Spirit of God these are the sons of God.*" A statement that by no means refers to humanity at large. Next in Galations iv. 5, we read that Christ "might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons," Evidently a special privilege of those redeemed by Christ; and thirdly we read A.V. in 1 John iii. 1, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us that we should be called the sons of God." In the N.T. therefore this title belongs to those led of the Spirit, redeemed by Christ, and beloved of the Father. I think this should be clearly expressed in the paper.

May I be allowed in conclusion to point out a fallacy—that is common to-day with regard to evil, and that is the denial of its existence and of its reality.

I would like to say first that a "minus" sign, is by no means the negation of a "plus" sign; any more than evil is merely

a negation of good. No doubt it may be urged that darkness is not an entity like light; and that when it is illuminated it is non-existent. But such is not the case with regard to evil which is an actual entity as much as good, and alas by no means disappears when the light shines, but is often in direct and bitter conflict with it. The treating of sin as an illusion is a fatal error that is denied throughout the whole of Scripture.

Mr. W. E. LESLIE said:—Mr. Klein's paper has a destructive and a constructive aspect. From the standpoint of idealism his destructive criticism appears conclusive. In his constructive contribution—a Pantheistic Mysticism—he attempts to escape from the results of his destructive work, not by argument, but by simply uttering the words "Intuition," "Introspection," "Inner" and "Inwardly" as though they were potent magic formulæ. How does he determine the boundary between "inner" and "outer," and why does he attribute to the area of consciousness lying on one side of the line a validity lacking in that on the other side?

I suggest that Mr. Klein's work is vitiated by an inability (characteristic of oriental thinkers) to distinguish between analogy and argument, metaphor and reality. Thus in this paper he regards the physical universe as a shadow cast upon our senses, and at the same time speaks of these senses as themselves a shadow upon "the plane of our consciousness." But is not this a shadow upon a shadow—an illusion on the part of an illusion? Again evil is described as an illusion; but such an illusion would itself be evil, and require explanation. The solution is purely verbal, the problem is unsolved.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES said: Has not the lecturer in his interesting paper confounded the Divine life in the Christian with the ordinary spirit of the Natural Man?

Mr. Klein quotes from Gen. i. 31, but this must be taken in connection with Gen. vi., 5.

"Know thyself" (by introspection) was the foundation principle of all ancient philosophies, whereas Christianity pointed to Christ, His sufferings and His glories and not to self-occupation and introspection.

Mr. H. O. WELLER remarked of the paper that its Philosophy is non-Christian—a mixture of Buddhism and Christian Science; it does not bring us "into direct touch with the latest advances" in knowledge and especially it most certainly does not in the smallest degree "combat the unbelief now prevalent." In a paper subsequently submitted he wrote "I will content myself with suggesting that the primary test of any system of philosophical speculation advanced before such a society as ours is that the incarnation, the life, and the death of our Lord Jesus Christ should be stated in terms of it."

Now, in the author's system we are asked to accept "this curious

illusion of time" coupled with his doctrine of the present existence of the future (with its inevitable corollary the present existence of the past); and we are clearly left with a God who not only cheats us by an "illusion of evil" into thinking that sin is real, but who proceeds to play on our disordered nerves with the obviously absurd demand, "God requireth that which is past."

In this system, where "Space is an omnipresent intangible nothing, outside which nothing that has existence can be even thought to exist," in this "new era of Religion and Philosophy" where "Religion and Science are only provisional," what terms are to be used in speaking of the Word who was God, in the beginning with God, becoming flesh and dwelling among us? In what terms, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world"?

Col. HARRY BIDDULPH, C.M.G., writes:—With much of the general theme of Mr. Klein's paper one is in agreement, but with important reservations; that the visible is but an exponent of the Invisible, probably most of us will assent to; in Heb. xi., 3, we read, "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear"; or in other words, the visible was made of the invisible. Matter appears to be the expression of energy under varying conditions, and the investigation of radioactive matter, and of the ultimate composition of the atom, seems to confirm this view. This however does not imply that the Visible is unreal, or only "make believe," as the lecturer appears to imply on page 55. *Within its limits* the Visible is real and true. It is no "make believe" when a murderer, grasping a visible and material knife, plunges it into the visible and material body of a fellow man, and sends his invisible spirit unsummoned to His Maker. The visible and the invisible, spirit, soul and body, are mysteriously linked together. In the future world too, there will be much that is material and visible, described under the phrase, "a new heaven and a new earth," which precludes the idea of an existence and state consisting of invisible forces only: in fact the Deity Himself has taken into eternal union with Himself man's body in the person of Jesus Christ.

One must enter also a decided protest against the phrase on page 68, "our real spiritual being, the holy son of God growing up within us." The holy son of God is one, the Lord Christ Jesus, none other can claim that title.

Further on page 69, the story in Genesis ii. and iii., seems to be referred to as having had introduced into it without authority, "Adam and Eve and the apple to account for the paradoxical existence of evil, etc."

It is true, as the lecturer reminds us, that "when God looked upon everything that He had made, behold it was very good." The term "perfect" is carefully avoided; that which is merely

"very good" is capable of betterment or of degradation; and alas creation became degraded,* as described in Genesis iii., by the introduction of sin, and sin is not merely a negation of what is good but the fruit of an active agency and power, hostile to God, both in the created and spiritual worlds.

The concluding pages of Mr. Klein's paper, while claiming to have proved what he has not really done, completely ignore the true Son of God, Our Lord Jesus Christ. His assertion that the true Son of God is growing up in each one of us is without proof and ill accords with our criminal records.

The lecturer quotes St. Paul twice but forgets that he also wrote "I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing" (Romans vii., 18).

Mr. W. HOSTE writes:—Mr. Klein has kindly bombarded us with etherial and aerial vibrations but as he, we, and all our visible surroundings are *ex-hypothesi* unreal and shadowy, it is a little difficult to criticise.

Mr. Klein tries to explain "how it is all done," that appearances are deceptive, &c., but has he proved that the thing done is unreal?

I cannot follow our lecturer on page 54 when he says "those who insist that the visible is real, can only look upon the invisible as shadowy and unreal." One does not see the sequitur. The visible is certainly the more important, but why should it alone be real? We have all known men, stockbrokers, scientists, market-gardeners, etc., successful on the visible plane, but none the less profoundly convinced of the transcendent reality of the invisible. On page 66 Mr. Klein quotes Rom. i., 18, 20, as showing that in the visible works of Creation "the invisible things of God are clearly seen," but if the former are unreal, how could the latter be real? I remember once crossing a desert in Tunis to the holy city of Kairowan and seeing a beautiful white city on the horizon, with trees and lakes. Had an Arab told me he was the architect I should have had a high idea of his art and skill, but afterwards when the whole thing faded away and proved a mirage, I should have considered him a fraud. If the visible creation were only shadow, how could it prove the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator?

Paul does not say the visible things are unreal but *temporal*. What he refers to would seem from the context to be the present life with its trials and temptations and vicissitudes rather than material things.

Then again, "visible" and "invisible" are relative terms; but as the universe increases in visibility, it must decrease in reality, as

* In Heb. xii., 23, we read that it is in the heavenly Jerusalem there are the spirits of just men made perfect.

our lecturer tells us the visible is unreal. To him to whom all is visible, all would then be unreal.

Mr. Klein seems to ignore two great basal facts, the fact of evil, which he terms "an illusion," and the fact of Christ. He quotes the last verse of Gen. i., seemingly to prove that what succeeded that in Chap. iii. is only the evasion of a difficulty? Certainly God's work is perfect but in a universe of free moral agents imperfection can enter, and has actually done so, otherwise why blame the Germans, if as an expression of the thought of God they are "absolutely perfect," page 69. Are the Torquemadas, the Abdul d' Ahmets, the Landrus, "the expression of the thought of God"? The very suggestion is blasphemous. God made man upright, as the Wise Man tells us, but man has sought out many inventions. If we ask what practical effect on life and conduct such themes can have, we are brought face to face with the infinitely small.

Lt.-Col. MACKINLAY writes:—I am grateful to Mr. Klein for his paper which will, I trust, provoke a good discussion: it brings before us in a forceful way some of the many ambiguities and limitations by which we are surrounded; at the same time I must confess, there seems to be in it a certain want of accuracy and balance.

Some things, not accepted by all, are taken for granted without any proof, as for instance that the human race is still in its infancy (pp. 55, 57, 64, 70). Notwithstanding the fact that the civilisation of past milleniums was considerable, and in some ways, as in sculpture, at times exceeded ours; while there are millions of savages on the earth at the present moment far below many of the peoples of antiquity.

I doubt if the statements at the bottom of page 60 and at the top of page 61 will bear investigation, when all the conditions are carefully examined.

I cannot think the use of the word *spiritual* in the paper is very definite or consistent with its general usage. On pages 54 and 66 it may be taken to mean the laws of nature, which are not at once apparent; but on page 70 the word seems to be employed in its more ordinary usage. It is of great help in any careful paper to define the exact meanings attached to any keywords employed.

The recognition of the properties of radium, the constitution of matter, the principles of relativity, and many other modern methods of research have opened out new vistas of thought; but it hardly seems wise to indulge in rash generalities, as for instance that because a point in space exists before it is reached, that therefore an event in time (pp. 64 and 65) may exist before it has come! It is easy to imagine the impossible, but is it a matter of practical utility to do so?

There is very much more to discuss in this interesting and ingenious paper, but I have not space.

AUTHOR'S REPLY—

"I regret to see that so many of those who have contributed to the discussion have ignored the few words with which I prefaced the reading and demonstration. I pointed out that the subject was too great to be fully covered in the time allotted to our meetings, and that it must be taken as a sequel to the last paper I read before the Institute on 'Our Real Spiritual Personality' (Transactions vol. 44), which was also illustrated by physical experiments. In the present demonstration I exhibited what may be called a 'material soul,' analogous in the *material* to the soul or physical ego of the *organic* world. I put this material soul through a *viva voce* examination on the different traits of character which I had found it possessed, and by means of certain invisible *sympathetic* influences, I was able to induce it to describe, both audibly and optically, eight or nine of those traits, some of which were acknowledged to be very beautiful. It was the most illuminating of all my experiments; it demonstrated so clearly the wonderful influence this sympathetic action has on the material plane, and is surely a window through which we may understand how the All-loving, of whose activity matter, as I have shown, is only one of our finite aspects, influences our souls on the spiritual plane when we open our hearts to that influence.

"We now come to the subject of the paradoxical existence of evil in a world that has been created by a Being who is absolutely Perfect, Omniscient, Omnipotent, and All-loving. Let me first say, as explained in my former paper, that I have never denied that evil has the appearance of reality under our present limited conditions of existence; it has, indeed, to be dealt with by us as a reality, but it can be shown that its appearance of reality is caused by the absence of the Spiritual, in a somewhat similar sense that the appearance as realities of shadow, ignorance and cold are caused by the absence of light, knowledge, and heat, and because, under present conditions of time and space limitations, all our conceptions are necessarily based on 'relativity.' I have dealt with this subject fully elsewhere ('From the Watch Tower' chapter on 'The devil and all his works an illusion'), but one of the contributors to the discussion provides me with a good example of this as the result of his confining his horizon to the World of Appearances. Col. Biddulph says: '*Within its limits the visible is real and true.*' Quite so, that is exactly what I have been urging in my paper. A child within its limits thinks a doll or wooden horse real and true. A child who can only read words of three letters or who confines its reading to a few lines, within those limits can only have a very absurd and erroneous idea of the real thought contained

in a book. We shall only understand the whole problem of evil when we can cease looking at it objectively, and can use the infinite spiritual outlook. The organic law of Reincarnation formulated by the Brahmans and the theory of Evolution as expounded by Darwin are both plausible and helpful attempts to enable our finite minds under the limitations of time, to explain physical and spiritual growth in this world of "becoming," but to the spiritual outlook which is not limited by time, such explanations can have no value because to the Infinite there can be no such thing as succession of events. The same contributor makes the statement that 'in the future world there will be much that is material and visible.' I think I have shown clearly that matter is only our limited and therefore ignorant aspect of spiritual activity; does he imagine that we shall have our imperfect physical sense organs to see and hear with when we wake up from our present state of dreaming? Doesn't he know that the rills in the æther are absolutely dark and the waves in the air are silent? It is only when they fall on our sense organs that they become light and sound. Surely everything that is objective to us here will be subjective, when time and space have ceased to limit our outlook and our consciousness is opened to spiritual discernment. Matter, the limited aspect which we call the visible, will then have disappeared for us, and only the spiritual, which we call the invisible, will be known to be real.

"We now come to the phrase: 'The Holy Son of God growing up within us.' May I suggest to Dr. Schofield and the other protestors that the quotations given from the Old and New Testament hardly seem to be applicable. Why are not Christ's own words quoted? He was the Son of God and He is therefore surely the best authority for what constitutes a Son of God. We unfortunately have not the exact words spoken by Christ, and in some cases, perhaps, not even the exact meaning (He spoke in Aramaic, which was translated into Greek and thence into English), but He was very emphatic in His teaching that God was not only our Father, but that the Kingdom in which that God dwelt was actually within each one of us. He urged us to realise that Kingdom within us and likened it to a grain of mustard seed which would ever grow and increase. I might well, therefore, have stated that God Himself was growing up within each one of us. Christ taught us to pray 'Our Father,' and the last words He said to Mary in the garden after His resurrection were: 'Go unto my brethren and say to them that I ascend to my Father and their Father, to my God and their God.' St. John also narrates that when the Jews came out to stone Christ for blasphemy, He pointed out to them that it was written in their own law that 'Ye are Gods,' and asked them how therefore He blasphemed when He called himself the Son of God. We are surely an internal, not an external creation of the All-loving. The knowledge of God, the realisation of the Christ,

the Son of God growing up within, is what constitutes our true spiritual life. Heaven and Hell are not localities but are states of consciousness within us. Heaven the real is when we are in loving and knowing communion with the All loving; Hell the unreal when that consciousness is absent.

"It is difficult to treat seriously Mr. Leslie's statement that I have used the words Introspection, Intuition and looking inwards as though they were potent, magical formulæ. True introspection can only be employed when *self* has been eliminated from self-consciousness and God consciousness has been attained.

Mr. Weller thinks my paper 'non-Christian, a mixture of Buddhism and Christian Science, does not bring us into touch with the latest advances, does not combat the unbelief now prevalent, shows that God cheats us by illusions, and last of all, plays on our disordered nerves with the obviously absurd demand that God requireth that which is past! I am quite contented to leave it to others to say whether there is a single sentence of truth in such statements. My paper was not written to prove Christianity or any other religion; there is something to be learnt from every form of serious religion, but in this paper and the others I have given to the Institute, my object has always been not so much to teach as to help others to think to their advantage. It is not God who cheats us, but it is we who by not opening our consciousness to that which is real, cheat ourselves into some very foolish beliefs.

"If Mr. Hoste will refer again to page 54 he will see that I specially limited my remarks to those who have 'not investigated or looked beyond the horizon of everyday life,' and on page 55 I again state that I am only referring to 'those who are dominated by the world of appearances in everyday life.' There are, thank God, many others who, as Mr. Hoste points out, are convinced of the reality of the invisible, but there is, alas, plenty of room for improvement in all of us in that direction. I have also travelled over many deserts and seen many extraordinary mirages, and I had these in mind when writing my paper. Mr. Hoste had only to investigate by either approaching or looking through a field-glass, and he would at once have seen that the appearance was an illusion and could not have been taken in by any would-be teacher, however dogmatically he might lay down the law. I have not stated or suggested that 'as the Universe increases in visibility it decreases in reality,' though that may be the conclusion of those who cannot free themselves from the narrow limitations of material perspective and thus become able to use the unlimited horizon of spiritual discernment.

Col. Mackinlay cannot see that the human race is still in its infancy, and I am afraid I cannot convince him if the examples I have given do not show him that we have hardly yet mastered even our A.B.C., and are only just beginning to get into touch

with the outside fringe of true knowledge of the Reality. I can only tell him that I have never yet met any true investigator who has not freely acknowledged that he who knows most, knows most how little he knows. Col. Mackinlay says I ought to have started by defining what I mean by 'The Spiritual!' but I did this in the very first line of my paper; I defined it there as the *Real*. It is the only Reality, it is what most people understand as God; everything else is only our finite aspect of that Spiritual activity. If he wishes for a fuller definition I will try to give what I have learnt to look upon as its significance and our connection therewith:—

“It is the Infinite, Eternal, Reality of Being of the All-loving. That Reality of Being is Absolute Love, of which the highest form of what we call love is the feeblest echo. It comprises Infinite Wisdom, Power and Purpose, and as we realise our oneness with that Divine Love, we find the Kingdom of Heaven within, become God conscious, and enter into the Bliss of God; we at last become, as it were, a drop in the ocean of Infinite Love, and are endowed with Wisdom and Power to help to carry out His purpose on the physical plane as that Will is being done in Heaven.”

638th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,
THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday,
February 6th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES, M.A., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following as Associates:—Charles Frederick Juritz, Esq., D.Sc., F.I.C., F.R.S., S. Africa, The Rev. W. Magee Douglas, B.A., and Miss Gladys Geary.

The Chairman then introduced Dr. A. T. Schofield and invited him to read his paper on "Some Difficulties of Evolution."

SOME DIFFICULTIES OF EVOLUTION.

By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D.

My only claim to speak on a subject of which I know nothing professionally, is that, having studied it a little exoterically for the last 60 years, it may be of some interest to note what difficulties are obvious from the outside of the structure; and I think these can now be stated, apart from the intense heat and bias so common sixty years ago, when Christians were more nervous about the stability of the Scriptures than they are to-day.

1. *The first difficulty that strikes one is that the meaning and the right use of the word Evolution are alike almost impossible to discover.* I see, for instance, that ten years ago Professor Henslow apologised for assuming all the members of the Victoria Institute were evolutionists, while in the very paper he had just read he had radically altered the correct meaning of the word itself.

We are, however, accustomed in science to metaphorical and allegorical terms or figures of speech that are often puzzling. Take the word "Nature," for instance, a venerable goddess known to science, who, as we all know, has no existence whatever; but, nevertheless, is credited with most wonderful and unique powers. "She" can seal up the wound, repair the damage, construct and vary all the forms of life and do so many things at her own sweet will that sometimes we think "Nature" may mean God, sometimes our own unconscious mind, and sometimes nothing at all.

To some extent it seems to me evolution has now replaced this mythical goddess, and is credited with at least as great powers, in equally illusory and incorrect statements. Evolution also, apparently, does what she (?) will with the germ-plasm, from which she fashions every form of life by chance. She indeed does far more, and appears to assume most of the functions of a Creator, but in this paper we have only time to touch on organic evolution amongst plants, animals, and men.

• So far, then, we can arrive at no definition whatever of the word. To help us in this we must first settle the greatest of all questions: "Is this ubiquitous 'evolution' merely a process or a directing force, or both?" As a process that may possibly be used in some parts of the creation, few would object to it: although "progression" is far and away a better word, and one wholly free from ambiguities as well as from any suggestions of being a force. But to those who regard evolution as a force, we would suggest that nothing can be evolved which is not in some way involved;* that "every house builded by some man"; that is, that evolution postulates an evolver, and that "natural selection" in no way covers the ground, or in animals is adequate to its task.

Generally speaking, Darwin, Lamarck, Spencer, Hæckel, A. R. Wallace, and the majority of scientists regard evolution as having some inherent force; although Darwin and Wallace do not push this to the denial of a Creator as Hæckel does. This last professor seems almost to have been in Lord Halsbury's mind in 1915, when he said, speaking, as President of the Institute, on Evolution:—

"In court we are expected to give full proof in support of every assertion. A professor, on the other hand, appears to consider himself relieved from any such anxiety. He seems to think that all that he has to do is to say that such and such is the case."

This *ex cathedra* style is cultivated to perfection by Hæckel, who calmly makes a statement without proof, and then argues from it as if it were a demonstrated fact. In his old age, however, Hæckel said that he stood almost alone among scientists in his evolutionary belief. "Most modern investigators have come to the conclusion that the doctrine of evolution . . . is an error." This initial difficulty in evolution is so important that it must be settled before proceeding further.

Evolution is the law in all human work, and its products are always imperfect; and all these imperfect products require an evolver—man; and we are surrounded everywhere by products, of which the successive steps are *not* missing as in geology. But if

*Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary says Evolution is "the act of unrolling or unfolding." This evidently postulates a previous unfolding.

evolution be also the law of nature, all its products on the contrary are perfect, no evolver seems needed, and, curious to say, the intermediate imperfect products are nowhere to be found!

As we have seen, in so far as evolution connotes force, so far is God excluded from His works; but God seems dropping out of our thoughts altogether. At a conference on moral education the other day every conceivable force and method was discussed by twenty leading authorities, but the fear or the knowledge of God as a factor was never once mentioned. At Dundee, when the British Association discussed the origin of life, ten professors named every possible theory, but God was not mentioned. In evolution the determined exclusion of an objective evolver is significant. This exclusion leads at times to ridiculous conclusions. We see, for example, a professor gazing at a flint arrowhead he has picked up on the banks of the Somme. He is quick to trace the action of mind, human mind, in the three converging chips on the stone, making a point. It is abundantly clear to him that nothing less than man's mind could impress such purpose on a stone; and yet as an evolutionist he knows that he, the philosopher himself, is the product of blind chance, by natural selection. In short, though nothing but an objective mind can make these three chips on the flint, mere chance can make a philosopher. In face of all this is there not some truth in the bitter French dictum. "God is still believed in in England, save by the city arabs and the higher philosophers"?

Why the absence of a directing external mind which seems to be an inherent necessity in all human evolution should be insisted on in organic evolution alone, is a great mystery to outsiders, when both are so obviously teleological. Modern anatomy, indeed, stimulated by evolution, has given overwhelming proof of minute teleology in every part of the body, of which both natural selection and the force of environment are alike incapable. It is only right to repeat that Darwin allowed that God might have started the process of evolution with one or more original types; and also that A. R. Wallace, who is described as a seceder from the ranks of orthodox Darwinism, wrote the "World of Life, a manifestation of creative power, directive mind, and ultimate purpose." These men were far above most of their disciples.

It must be remembered here that all Darwin's evolution was based on natural selection. Lamarck, on the contrary, founded his evolution on environment, or change effected by surroundings—a far surer ground, but one only touched on by Darwin in his later writings, and in the sixth edition of "The Origin of Species." Now, these two are mutually exclusive. I may recall that in 1876 Darwin wrote to Professor Moritz Wagner that the

greatest error he had committed was not allowing sufficient weight to the direct action of the environment.

When, therefore, we speak of evolution, we must explain what particular meaning we attach to the word. At one end of the scale it may mean nothing more than the general scheme of progression, outlined in Genesis i. as the method of the Creator. At the other it may connote a directive force that has itself fashioned every form of life without any creator at all.

Dr. Etheridge (Brit. Mus.) says of such evolution: "Nineteenth is . . . wholly unsupported by fact." Professor Bateson, F.R.S., in his address in 1914 as President (British Association), said: "Natural selection cannot have been the chief factor in determining the species of animals and plants. We go to Darwin . . . but to us he speaks no more with philosophical authority." Such voices *from within* seem to justify this paper from an outsider.

Looking now a little closer at human ancestry, we discover (1922), after fifty years of hot debates about primates and monkeys, that none has been found—the ape-descent, so vehemently insisted on, being practically given up.

2. *A second difficulty is to trace the lines of ascent to man in evolution*, for even ontogeny, that impregnable rock of evolution, is now failing us. By ontogeny I mean the reproduction in the embryo of the successive steps in the evolution of the race with which he is credited by phylogeny. Professor Keith declares the deductions from ontogeny and phylogeny are not valid, while Professor Sidgwick, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says there is no proof of their relations, and Bergson totally rejects the parallel. This foundation is, then, getting quite shaky, and already needs some propping up. Partially as a result of this, we fear we must at last part with our old friend—"the missing link." He is indeed, in a parlous state. Leading scientists of the day stoutly deny the existence of our friend anywhere. He is certainly backward in coming forward. Professor Keith says indeed, this missing link is now generally given up. For man to have descended from the ape would require millions of years and 100 links: and of such there is no record, nor any trace.

Some sixteen fragments of fossil skulls exist in the world now, after nearly a century of diligent search, and on these the existence of our friend was based. Professor Rudolf Virchow, however, surely a first-rate authority, after careful examination of the *Pithecanthropos*—the missing link in the South Kensington Museum—pronounced it to be an ape; and on the further evidences declares there is no missing link or *proanthropos* amongst them, and that our friend is a phantom.

Some Japanese fossil skulls just discovered, and some others of very remote date, have actually a larger brain capacity than

the average brain to-day. I believe it has been gravely suggested that at that time their owners were becoming men, and the effort was so great that extra brain capacity was required for the purpose. Dr. A. R. Wallace declares there are very many missing links of all sorts, of which there should be necessarily almost innumerable fossil remains, whereas he bitterly complains of there being hardly any in the two possible strata, the Eocene and the Myocene; but with remarkable courage, instead of accepting this as a proof of their non-existence, he actually says it is rather a proof of the imperfection of the geologic record. Why this should be so imperfect we are not told, but it is evidently regarded as improper.

3. *A third difficulty is the result of the application of Darwin's evolution to man.* In Dr. Benjamin Kidd's last work, "The Science of Power," Darwinism is most gravely charged with being the principal cause of the atrocities of the late war, because its leading doctrine, which had a tremendous vogue in Germany, is the bestial law that "might is right, and is the sole force in the path of progress"; and we must remember this law is ethical as well as physical. Now, civilisation depends on the subordination of the individual to the social welfare. Darwinian progress, on the other hand, consists in the assertion of the individual against the social welfare; and this is what actually always occurs in the degeneration of civilisation. It may be remarked in passing, that Christianity immensely helps civilisation in asserting this doctrine of self-abnegation as a leading tenet. Professor Weismann considers that the highest form of civilisation tends, *per se*, incessantly to degenerate. "Darwinism is," says Benjamin Kidd, "the very antithesis of the social integration which is taking place in civilisation, for the ascending history of the human race is the sacrifice of the individual to collective efficiency. The law of sacrifice is the true law of progress." "In Germany, Hæckel was the supreme exponent of Darwin, and Nietzsche followed. His teachings are the interpretations of Darwinism."

"If A was able to kill B, before B killed A, A represented the survival of the fittest and proves that might is right."*

We are not surprised, when this bestial law of Darwin's is extended to humanity, and has become the new gospel of Germany, to find that Christianity was trodden under foot, and declared to be the greatest enemy to progress Germany had ever had. Nietzsche impiously declares Christ to be the worst blasphemer of all time, because He denied this bestial law for man!

This degrading doctrine made the last war what it was in incredible brutality and cruelty. If men will take the supposed law of progress for beasts as the law for themselves, so far from

* B. KIDD, *The Science of Power* p. 48, etc.

thereby producing the "superman," they degrade humanity to the bestial level, and men act like beasts.

The greatest lover of Darwin cannot say that he ever indicated that this law of natural selection did *not* apply to man. Indeed, the contrary is the case; and no surprise need be felt that Germany fell into this fatal error. As we well know, Professor Huxley, Darwin's doughty champion, everywhere asserted that Darwin's law held good for all living animals, amongst which he classed humanity.

Not until the very close of his life did the truth on this subject shine in upon his soul. Not until his "Romanes" lecture at Oxford in 1893 (see "Romanes" lecture, p. 34), did he in one sentence overturn that deadly lie which has brought death or misery to millions, and set civilisation back in Europe fifty years.

Huxley then said, to the delight of all Christians, and to the dismay of all his friends, that—

"The ethical progress of society depends, *not on our imitating the cosmic process* (ruthless self-assertion), still less in running away from it, *but in combating it.*"

I grant the phrasing is obscure, but it is a wonderful utterance from Huxley; and declares that in evolution there is one law for the beast, and an opposite law for the man. That if egoism is the bestial law, and might is right; altruism is the human law and might is no longer right. Broadly speaking, would it be too much like John Bull if we said "that in a general sense, while the Germans fought to establish the first law of these two, the Allies fought to establish the second; and by God's good hand obtained the victory"?

To return to our organic evolution. The outsider has still a few stumbling blocks to get over before he can accept what the twentieth century has left of Darwin's original evolution.

4. *The fourth difficulty is the sudden appearance in the rocks of the fossils of myriads of entirely new species, unpreceded by the greatly desired intermediate types, of which the strata are so shamelessly deficient.** These new species are perfect in every respect, and no evolution is apparent in their structure. Darwin pointed out that these sudden arrivals (shall we say, "from nowhere," or from the hands of the Creator?) were very serious objections to his theory.

He, of course, relying for advance in variations denied fixed species, but in this his following is not numerous. Few have any idea of the numbers of the different species, each with its own peculiar and fixed characteristics, and extraordinary instincts. The insects alone number three-quarters of a million species, of which beetles can show 1/200,000 varieties!

*Recent discoveries of isolated supposed "links" do not invalidate the general statement.

5. *The fixity of species is another difficulty that has not yet been surmounted.* Types of an intermediate character in animals are indeed hard to find. The best chain of evolution that has been in any way established, and very well advertised, is that of the horse. But here, alas, is a very weak link, for the apocryphal "Merchippus," on whom the claim so greatly depends, has been deduced by a professor's inner consciousness solely from the evidence of some teeth, which are declared to be its only true remains. Sir W. Dawson describes this evolution of the horse as worthless.

The almost complete and greatly lamented absence of intermediate types is, indeed, rather fatal, and if evolutionists were not cheered with the vision of a great "find" some day, I fear they would almost despair.

The modern substitution of Lamarck's evolution for Darwin's, in other words, the action of environment for that of natural selection, does not help to prove the evolution of species.

Evolution is indeed not the right word to apply to changes from environment, unless it can be proved that such changes advance the organism from a lower to a higher stage, indeed to another species. As Mr. Arthur Sutton has pointed out from his prolonged studies of plant life: "Self-adaptation or environment is not sufficient for the origin of fresh species." Indeed, differences produced by environment only last while in the environment. George Klebs, Ph.D., stated at Darwin's jubilee that "So far as experiments justify a conclusion, it would appear that changes due to environment are not inherited by the offspring. Like all other variations, they appear only so long as the special conditions appear in the environment." The most that Darwin would venture on as to this was, that changed conditions of life may produce a "new sub-variety," a very different thing from a new species! Modern professors are not so modest; for in 1912 Professor Henslow declared that "spontaneous adaptability to changed conditions of life is the origin of species—a statement broad enough to require a great deal more proof than we have at present.

Here Mendel and de Vries came to the rescue, and with their wonderful instances of "mutations" instead of variations, as shown in peas in Hungary and evening primroses in Holland, hoped to make matters easier. Jumps (or mutations) over great gaps, enormous instead of imperceptible steps all the way, reduced at once intermediate types from thousands to dozens. What force produces the jumps is quite obscure; for at present mutation seems more of a freak than a certainty; though it must obey some undiscovered law. Mutation is, however, compatible with the language of the first of Genesis (which owes its immortality largely to its unscientific wording). One can picture

the Creator, rightly or wrongly, endowing at His will the primordial germ with power to rise to the next step in creation per saltum or "mutation"; and this could be repeated by the Divine will without intermediate types at all; which would accord with the geologic record, and redeem it from the reproach it has so long unjustly laboured under. No one can, of course, say this *was* the method, for we don't know; but it is at least more feasible than Darwin's "natural selection"; only it labours under the fatal drawback of requiring a Creator or directing force with a fixed purpose and power, which nowadays is asking rather too much. The only mind of which science is officially aware is man's.

Professor Schäfer points out that "supernatural intervention is unscientific," a fact that has already struck us as obvious, but which does not necessarily make it less true. A. R. Wallace, on the other hand, in his unscientific way, says, "We must postulate a mind as the source of all the forces of the whole material universe." ("World of Life," p. 338.)

I hope the Institute is not yet tired of the difficulties in evolution, for there are still a few most serious ones ahead.

6. *The next difficulty is about the 500,000 species of insects.* Insect life, indeed, seems expressly designed to strike despair into the Darwinian's heart. It is certainly a terrible problem, to conceive how an animal evolves, that begins life by crawling on numerous legs, under a long, soft body, suddenly folds itself up one day and dissolves into a creamy mass of cells, all absolutely alike, where it lies without motion, or apparently life, as a chrysalis for days or weeks; and then, miracle of miracles, its dirty grey slime is transformed into the gauzy wings, gorgeous body, and long attenuated legs of a dragon-fly, or into the painted glories of a nectar-sipping butterfly, or maybe into the polished scarabæus of a blackbeetle. Where in this variegated life, does natural selection carry on its beneficent task of evolution? Is it the worm, the quiescent corpse, or the horny consumption that proves might is right?

If, indeed, evolution by natural selection were the whole truth about the universe, we could boldly say, "Never did such lowly and inadequate means produce such magnificent and transcendental results, as seen in the insectivora." But this is another difficulty. Is it true that any animal, however fit, has itself the power to evolve either the repulsive horrors or the startling beauties of the insect world? Some stout-hearted believers still say "yes." Most of us however, may envy, but cannot attain to their faith. On the whole it seems easier, safer, and indeed wiser to take the simple path of believing the word of God.

7. *The next difficulty is that of instinct, and specially of insect instinct.* Henri Fabre, the French naturalist, a name known to us all, disagreed with Darwin. He, in his reliance on the struggle for existence, and the gradual evolution of various powers that might be useful in some far distant generation, is confronted by Fabre's insistence on instinct, *which is never learnt* by the animal, but belongs at the very outset, in full power, to the insects that require it. An incomparable observer (easily the first in insect life), as distinguished from a theorist, Fabre has collected a number of different instances of instinct, which, as he thinks, destroy the theory of the evolution of insects. Darwin himself, a true judge, did not fail to realise something of the kind. He clearly dreaded the problem of the instincts when he said, "The instincts appear sufficient to overthrow my whole theory." ("Origin of Species," p. 191).

Unfortunately, Darwin died just as the discussion with Fabre was beginning, but up to his death he still adhered to the theory that instinct is an acquired habit. Of course, this necessitated the transmission of acquired habits, in which Lamarck and Darwin fully believed, but which Weissman and others of the first rank stoutly deny. Not only did Fabre believe that the wonders of creation were quite inexplicable without the assumption of a Divine Architect of the universe, but he had an extraordinary regard for the life of the insects he studied and described, but could not explain. Fabre has indeed helped us to realise that in life there is nothing common or unclean, and he treated it as sacred.

I must here turn aside for one moment to illustrate this. Fabre had a great glass case, containing twenty-five scorpions. In the day time you saw nothing, but at night with a lantern you could see the marvels of scorpion life, including love-making. "Sometimes their foreheads touched, and the two mouths meet with tender effusiveness. To describe these caresses by the word 'kisses' occurs to the mind. One dare not employ it; for here is neither head, face, lips, nor cheeks. Truncated as though by a stroke of the shears, the animal has not even a snout. Where we should look for a face are two hideous jaws like a wall. And this for the scorpion is the height of beauty! With his fore-legs, more delicate and agile than the rest, he softly pats the dreadful mask of his partner; to his eyes, an exquisite face. Voluptuously he nibbles at it, tickles with his jaws the face touching his, as hideous as his own. His tenderness and naiveté are superb. The dove, they say, invented the kiss. I know a precursor—the scorpion."

The impassable gulf of the amorphous slime we call a chrysalis, between caterpillar and insect, we repeat, seems to defy all the powers of Darwin's evolution, to say nothing of the incredible accuracy of the insect instinct. In the sphex wasp it is required

that its eggs should be laid in some living body powerless to harm them, for some entirely inscrutable reason. From birth this wasp surpasses all surgical accuracy in the use of its sting. For in the large caterpillar it operates on, it has to find the exact spot on its back, of incredible minuteness, where injected poison will paralyze all the motor muscles without destroying the life of the animal. No bungling is of use. The exact spot must always be instinctively known (it is never looked for), so that the caterpillar in its living death becomes the foster-mother of the sphex progeny. There is no evidence of any objection on the part of the caterpillar.

8. *The next difficulty is to conceive the gradual evolution by natural selection of most complicated organs that can be of no possible use to the innumerable "links" until their formation is complete.* Take, for instance, the evolution, according to Darwin, of the eye, or of a feather.

Imagine the survival of the fittest in countless steps, evolving by degrees a feather: For what possible use is inconceivable, since the evolver has never left the earth, and a feather could not help it to do so. Darwin said the thought of the evolution of the eye (useless till complete) always gave him a cold chill down his back; Bergson plainly declares such evolution impossible.

Indeed, I do not know of any book by any leading evolutionist that explains how imperfect organs could possibly be evolved in the interest of the animal, with a steady persistence through centuries (?), until at last the long chain of defunct and missing ancestors were rewarded by a distant offspring possessing an eye. This is another stumbling block, that must be overcome if evolution is ever to be more than an unworkable hypothesis; but of this, there is at present no sign.

9. *The last difficulty I shall adduce (not with the idea of their number being exhausted, but with a sincere desire not to exhaust my audience) is the philosophical difficulty of evolving extremely complicated structures out of the simplest forms by such a chance force as natural selection.*

This difficulty may not strike some as insoluble; nevertheless, it points out that the theory of evolution runs mainly counter to the usual order in nature—when any proposed evolver is excluded.

Science, of course, has nothing officially to do with origins or first causes. It only concerns itself with actual facts and results, and their connections. It says "the origin of matter and force are unknowable." Dr. A. R. Wallace, however, is not of this scientific view. He says: "Science demands the knowledge of an intelligent being as the first cause of physical force."

In modern times Professor Henslow has endowed life with the power of directivity, and there can be no doubt that the Creator

has endowed life in the individual cell with purpose. It can preserve its own life by the progressive selection and assimilation of food, and can reproduce its own species: but its directivity must have proceeded from a supreme Director. When, however, we come to the direction of a complex organism like man, we look for the general directing force of the countless cells and numerous organs for the good of the whole, in the expression of life in mind; and so far as such direction is extra-conscious—to the unconscious mind in man. Life, indeed, itself is not a force, but a directing of force. No force can direct itself, and no natural force is alive. But no directing force in life has been known to change one species into another, and reproduction is strictly limited to "after its kind."

It is, however, so difficult to speak of creation, or, indeed, of evolution without touching on life; that practically scientists have found themselves forced, most unscientifically to discuss its origin. Such a discussion took place at Dundee, I think, in the year 1912; when, as I have already stated, ten professors joined in, each contributing his idea on the abstruse subject, but, so far as I know, not one of the ten ventured to suggest that possibly God as Creator might prove to be the missing source of life.*

There can be no doubt life existed from the beginning, and there is now little question that the phenomena of life are essentially purposive, or, as Professor Henslow says, "directive," and are therefore the phenomena of mind; and if we further ask, Whose mind? there is but one final answer, "God's," for He alone existed in the beginning.

Abiogenesis, or the production of living protoplasm from chemicals has been affirmed, and specially by Dr. Charlton Bastian; but drastic experiments have proved that already existing life had not been sufficiently excluded in his experiments, and that the premisses being unsound, the conclusion was false.

To-day it is generally accepted that life alone can produce life, and that all attempts to make it artificially have so far failed.

Dr. A. R. Wallace declares that "living protoplasm has never been chemically produced."

Huxley, indeed, says: "Life exists before organism and is its cause."

But life can only produce life *after its kind*, from creation till now. Grass can never produce a tree; and if in any way the body of a man is to be made from a single living cell, the mind of the Creator as well as the fashioning hand must be

*We may remark here that protoplasm is not so much the physical basis of life as that (as Professor Burden Sanderson shews) life is the basis of protoplasm.

present every step of the way. If we are to trace such Divine action in Genesis and further on, from earth to heaven, we seem to discover seven steps in this new Jacob's Ladder:—

1. Unicellular organisms or protozoa—the beginning of all life.
2. Multicellular organisms or metazoa (including all vegetable life).
3. The invertebrata.
4. The vertebrata up to the primates.
5. The natural man.
6. The spiritual man (by the new birth), as great and true a step in progression as any of the others, and a distinct new species—true to type.

7. The Superman or Christus Consummator, the last Adam—the last for which the first was made—the end in view from the first moment life ever appeared on this planet.

I do not press these closing views, nor are they the subject of this paper, but to me they are both true and harmonious.

I will not apologise for the shortness of my remarks, for their brevity will give opportunity for others to speak, who are no doubt more conversant with evolution than myself.

Indeed, it may be possible that we may be favoured with an esoteric view of the subject, which would be of great interest to all of us, and possibly solve some of the difficulties that puzzle outsiders.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, M.A.), said they had listened with great pleasure to a most interesting paper by Dr. Schofield. In calling on them for a vote of thanks by acclamation, he would make a few remarks. On page 83 the first paragraph, we read: "When therefore we speak of evolution, we must explain what particular meaning we attach to the word. At one end of the scale it may mean nothing more than the general scheme of progression, outlined in Genesis i., as the method of the Creator. At the other it may connote a directive force that has itself fashioned every form of life without any creator at all."

The Christian student of science holds fast to the dignified opening words of Scripture: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

That God was pleased to work by gradual methods as well as by direct creative energy, is, I take it for granted, what most of us here present believe.

Professor Alfred Russell Wallace, when referring to the question as to how life originated in this planet, affirmed that power was exercised from without. In a word, life was given to the earth.

Mr. W. Hoste said: I hardly think Dr. Schofield need have been so apologetic at the beginning of his admirable paper. If he is an outsider, there are no "insiders." Even a Max-Müller could not pose as an expert on the language of primitive man; the best of cartographers could not produce a reliable map of the other side of the moon. It is difficult to see how a man can be an "esoteric" Evolutionist. No one has ever seen evolution in process, nor is there one direct proof that any of the four foundations of Darwinism, unlimited variability, unlimited time for variation, transmission of acquired characteristics or natural selection, repose on anything more solid than assumption. We can all read books. The man who reads the most on this subject, unless he has something better than man's word to go by, should be the most muddled, for the voices are very conflicting. I think Dr. Schofield might have added, to his modern gods and goddesses—"Science," a swollen puffed-out word, glibly used by the scientists of the penny Press; but the best scientists allow there is much more outside than inside it. Dubois-Raymond says of natural selection: "We seem to have the sensation in holding to this doctrine of a man hopelessly sinking, who is grasping a single plank that keeps him above water." Then why hold to it? Weissman long ago assured the scientific world that if they gave up "Evolution," and especially "Darwinism," nothing remained but "Creation," of course, a *reductio ad absurdum*; but Wilser writes: "He is no scientist who has not settled accounts with Darwinism." Hæckel was so anxious to prove "Evolution" that he used to do a little forging on his own account in his embryological diagrams. When forced to confess this, as he did in the "Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung," of January 9, 1909, he covered his retreat by asserting: "The great majority of all morphological, anatomical, histological and embryological diagrams . . . are not true to Nature, but are more or less doctored, schematized, and reconstructed." It is the little boy's excuse for robbing the orchard. It might not be without use to remember this when visiting the South Kensington Museum. Hæckel became very unpopular with his fellow scientists. Some scientists have been known to develop cannibalistic tendencies. The "odium scientificum" is as real as the "odium theologicum."

As for the process of Evolution itself, should we not have expected in the earliest strata containing organic fossils, that these would have been at first all of one sort, gradually merging by a series of infinitely small variations into new types? In reality it is disconcerting to find on the contrary at the very start a large variety of animal remains, some of which disappear altogether, while others persist for ages, unchanged, like the ammonites; while new forms

are constantly and suddenly appearing. As the eighth Duke of Argyll wrote: "The new forms always appear suddenly from no known source, and generally, if of a new type, exhibit that type in great strength as to numbers." How exactly this fits in with that "progression," which, as Dr. Schofield remarks, is so characteristic of Gen. i. To meet above difficulty the "possible" "Imperfection of the Record" is suggested. But Science knows no resting place on "may be" and "perhaps." As a fact we have, as Urquhart shows in his "Bible and how to read it," rocks, such as the Jurassic, in which occur continuous and undisturbed series of long and tranquil deposits, 1,300 ft. in thickness, in which as many as 1,850 new species have been counted, all of them suddenly born, invariable as far as they go, and superseded by still newer forms. Hæckel hailed Darwin as a great deliverer from the tyranny of the Scriptural Record, which he considered, no doubt rightly, to be the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of Evolution. Darwin provided what Hæckel called an "anti-Genesis." Certainly Gen. i. in scientific language would be an amusingly pedantic document, and as Dr. Schofield asks pertinently what scientific "language would be the up-to-date one?" The language of Gen. i. is not in advance of the science of any time, it is not behind the science of any time. Professor G. Dana, the well-known geologist, in his "Geology," pp. 760, 770, writes: "This document (i.e., the first chapter of Genesis), if true, is of divine origin. It is profoundly philosophical in the scheme of creation it presents. It is both true and divine. It is a declaration of authorship both of creation and the Bible." When W. E. Gladstone proposed Dana as arbitrator between himself and Huxley in their great controversy as to the scientific accuracy of Genesis i., Huxley replied: "There is no man to whose judgment I would more readily bow than Professor Dana." I cannot help strongly deprecating the placing of Christ (see p. 91) as a sort of superman—the last development, by whatever process you please, in a progressive series, beginning with the protozoa and mounting up through the invertebrates to "the natural man." I think this gives the case away, degrades Christ, and contradicts the facts of our Lord's origin, as presented to us in the Scriptures, three things the lecturer would never do wittingly.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS desired to add another difficulty in the way of the evolution theory, which he remembered the late Lord Salisbury mentioned when delivering his address as President of the British Association nearly 30 years ago.

It was that the biologists declared that they required at least 50 million years for the development of the first protoplasm into a man, whereas the geologists affirmed that some two million years ago the surface of this earth must have been so hot as to make life impossible.

He thought that many had been attracted to evolution as finding

a reason why so many animals were furnished with the means of causing pain to others; a thing which appeared at first sight incompatible with a beneficent Creator. He thought the explanation with regard to the present Creation might lie in the fact that the fall of man, who was really God to the lower animals, had affected them, as indeed appeared from the Scripture. "The whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," Romans 8, 22.

But this would not explain the evidences in fossil remains that animals before the advent of man were furnished with weapons with which they could torture one another. It might possibly be that at that time this world was inhabited by some superior creatures who had passed away and whose passions affected animals.

However, there did not appear to be any clear and full explanation, which should make us humble and remember the limitations of our knowledge, and that in many things we had to walk by faith and not by sight.

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes:—I appreciate very highly Dr. Schofield's paper, and should have been delighted had circumstances permitted me to be present on the 6th of this month. While agreeing with the author in the ambiguity of the term, I yet think that "Evolution" may have a thoroughly theistic meaning. If it is regarded as indicating the method the Creator followed; that Creation was not the result of the "Fiat" of a moment, but a process by which step by step the more complex was evolved from the more simple according to a purpose. This may quite well be true.

There may even be an excuse for saying "Nature" when we mean "God": it may result from a reverence analogous to that which leads the Jews to avoid the sacred name when reading the Law. This does not affect the difficulties pointed out by Dr. Schofield, which really apply to the purposeless evolution of modern science. Personally, I have been impressed with the millions of "missing links" needed to render complete the process of a fortuitous "Evolution."

The purpose in evolution cannot have been merely the emergence of "Man." There are numerous highly specialised forms of life which appear to be terminals, *e.g.*, the ostrich, the elephant, and in geologic time, the Pterodactyl. These cannot be steps to further evolution. There is an interesting region for enquiry: the instincts which in so many animals lend themselves to domestication and modification by man. This leads to the question whether it may not be that, parallel with evolution of man, there was the evolution of animals to fit them to be subjects of man's rule. If it be objected that this applies to few genera, the mysterious fact of the Fall may explain this. The suppression of reproduction by gemmation, by bi-sexual reproduction and the care of the young, seems to find its reason in the evolution of altruism.

DR. W. WOODS-SMYTH wrote:—I am glad to get a glimpse of Dr. Schofield's paper. I am an evolutionist, because, like Hæckel. I found it in the Bible. The succession of living organisms revealed by geology agrees with the doctrine of evolution, and that succession is *absolutely* in harmony with Genesis i. as far as the Scripture goes. The Bible alleges the earth to be an efficient cause in the bringing forth of living organisms. In the Hebrew the word is in the *causative* voice—this denotes all that the earth stands for, namely, the life given to it by God, the environment, natural selection, etc. Man by his feeble powers and limited vision, by his use of selection, has produced varieties which, had they been found in Nature, would have been placed not simply in different species, but in different *genera*. Man, by experiments on a few organisms has produced varieties of organisms *which are inherited* through generations, and the permanency of the new characters, *which are inherited*, depends upon the length of time they have been subject to changed conditions. Natural selection works on many millions of organisms, and through long millions of ages—hence its achievements. True natural selection *alone* cannot produce a species of living organism. No more can its Biblical correlative, election, *alone* produce a Christian.

The elect of Christ and Darwin are ever the Overcomers. The point is by what means do they overcome? Nietzsche, in his narrow soul, thought of might, power, force; this was a mistake. The great saurians excelled in strength the mammals, but the mammals by more brains and alertness of body were the overcomers. The earlier gigantic mammals excelled in strength their later congeners, yet the later overcame and displaced them by more efficient adjustments. Man has the dominion over all creatures, but not by might or force; and Christ overcomes by the revelation of the love of God and the majesty of Him who loves.

Note by Dr. Schofield on Dr. Woods-Smyth's remarks: If evolution means only succession it is too vague for controversy. Neither water nor earth were efficient causes of animal life, for God had to create and make every living creature. I do not consider natural selection and God's election as correlatives. Might, power, force, is not confined by Nietzsche and others to what is physical.

639th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,
THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday,
February 20th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. MACKINLAY IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the following elections:—A. G. Wilkinson, Esq., as a Member, and Captain Ralph Carr-Gregg as an Associate.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. W. Dale, F.G.S., F.S.A., who read his paper on "Christianity in Roman Britain," illustrated by lantern slides of great interest.

CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN.

By WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A.

The subject of the introduction of Christianity into our land during its occupation by the Romans is one of the deepest interest. The evidence available is, unfortunately, of the most meagre description, so that there have not been wanting those, including no less an authority than Thomas Wright, who have denied altogether that Christianity was known in Roman Britain, and was not introduced until the coming of Augustine. Our knowledge in this direction has, however, of late years been reinforced, and it is satisfactory to find that one of the greatest and best authorities on early Christian Art, Mr. O. M. Dalton, F.S.A., has, in a recently published guide book of the British Museum, placed the matter beyond controversy.

I purpose to lay before you a few of the actual facts we possess, and to mention some of the traditions and legends which have come down to us, upon which many have built their faith. One might also adduce as an argument the reasonableness of the supposition that with the Roman invasion the Gospel came. The roads which still stretch across our Country, made by the army, were the first thing to occupy the attention of the invaders. By the side of one there was found in the last century in Hampshire an ingot of lead from the mines in the Mendip Hills bearing on it the stamp of the Emperor Nero, with his titles so fully set out that Roman students can date it with certainty at A.D. 60. At that time the great Apostle of the Gentiles was living in the Capital in daily contact with soldiers of the army, and penned the

message to Phillipi: "The saints that are in Rome salute thee, chiefly they of Cæsar's household." The slides I purpose showing you presently are a set I have had prepared to illustrate Roman life in Britain, and I make no apology for introducing them, as they will help you to understand something of the civilization and refinement which obtained in our Country when the Empire was nominally Christian and persecution had ceased.

The traditions and legends which we find in the writings of the Monkish chroniclers are comparatively well known. William of Malmesbury gives an account of the founding of the first Christian Church in Britain at Glastonbury. This was written ten centuries after the supposed founding. He derived the story from a charter of St. Patrick, which has been pronounced a forgery, and from writings of a British historian which he found in the libraries of St. Edmund and St. Augustine. Archbishop Usher who perused these writings pronounced them to be the work of a Saxon monk. The account reads that after our Lord's Ascension the word of God spread rapidly. Persecution was stirred up by Jewish priests, and the disciples dispersed, preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. Amongst them Philip the Evangelist, arriving in the territory of the Franks, converted many of them. Here he chose out twelve of his disciples and set over them Joseph of Arimathea, and sent them to Britain in the year 63. They were given a certain Island where they were admonished by the Angel Gabriel to build a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which was finished in 64. The story is further embellished by the medieval detail that Joseph of Arimathea bore with him the Holy Grail and deposited it in the church. That the story owes its origin to the time when the religious house at Glastonbury was rising in importance and the monks were anxious to spread its fame, there can be very little doubt. On a recent visit to Glastonbury, however, I was not a little surprised to find that the distinguished architect in charge of the ruins was a believer in Joseph of Arimathea.

To a later date belongs the martyrdom of St. Alban, the first British martyr. I have always thought that there must be a foundation of truth in this story, for such a famous Abbey and so far renowned a shrine could hardly have grown up round an invention. Moreover, the time was the beginning of the 4th century, and the Diocletean persecution, under which he is said to have suffered, was the expiring effort of Roman paganism. The story is given by Bede, who obtained it from Gildas. Fleeing from Wales to avoid the attacks which the Roman Government was directing against his religion, came a Christian preacher named "Amphibalus," the name is suspicious, and suggested by the cloak he wore. Albanus, a native solider, came under his teaching, gave him shelter, and himself embraced Christianity.

When the persecutors came on the track of Amphibalus they found him not, but Albanus, with whom he had exchanged garments, was in his place. He was haled before the judges, who told him if he refused to worship the gods he should suffer the same punishment as Amphibalus. He was taken to a neighbouring hill, where his head was struck off—miracles were performed on the way, and the eyes of the executioner fell out on the ground. Prof. Haverfield characterizes the whole story as a forgery by William of St. Albans in the 12th century. It is much to be regretted that a systematic exploration of the site of Verulamium, such as was done at Silchester, cannot be undertaken. Such a large and important City probably contains evidences of early Christianity.

Another well-known story is that of King Lucius, to which the date of about A.D. 180 is assigned. In this connection it is needful to call attention to an article by Prof. Flinders Petrie in the "Proceedings of the British Academy, for 1917-1918, on 'Some neglected points in British History.'" This distinguished scholar deals far more leniently than other writers with the accounts of Roman Christianity. He tells us that the fullest account we have of early British history is given us in the Chronicle of Tysilio, a writer in the West of England who has been entirely ignored, and no use made of his record. Internal evidence, Prof. Petrie says, shows it is based on British documents extending back to the 1st century. Geoffrey of Monmouth drew much from him, but dressed it up largely and impaired our reliance upon it. If it is to be regarded as a medieval composition it must have been drawn from some classic source. Passing over the accounts given by Tysilio of the landing of Cæsar, and the later Roman expeditions, the chronicle mentions two generations of British Kings before Caradog, and three after him. One of these, Bran, was hostage in Rome for seven years for his son Caradog, who it is implied was sent back to rule in Britain. The sojourn of Bran in Rome was from 51 to 58, while Paul was in Rome, and when he returned he brought the faith of Christ to the Cambrians. The next account is that about A.D. 180, King Lucius, his descendant, sent to Pope Eleutherius at Rome for missionaries from Rome. This mission is named under Eleutherius in the Liber Pontificalis, and Bede gives us the same information. In contradistinction to Prof. Petrie I sum up the evidence in the words of the greatest authority on Roman Britain, the late Prof. Haverfield. Writing in the "English Historical Review" for 1896 he says:—

"Early British Christianity is recognised as a subject of wide importance. In the 7th century its facts and fictions had power to affect religious beliefs. A rhetorical passage in Tertullian mentions it about A.D. 200, but forbids precise conclusions.

'The Britons, in parts inaccessible to the Romans, Christ has truly subdued.' We conjecture from the silence of ancient writers that Christianity reached Britain by natural expansion, rather than conscious missionary effort. We conjecture further that this expansion was from the Roman provinces of Gaul and Germany. Communication between these places was easy and frequent. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries the armies of Britain and the Rhine exchanged recruits. In the 4th century, Ammianus tells us British cornships were accustomed to sail up the Rhine. How Christianity came to Gaul we do not know, perhaps from the East to Marseilles. Arguing from these premises we may suppose that at any rate as early as the 3rd century individual Christians on individual errands came from Gaul, Germany, and perhaps from Rome, that gradually congregations were formed, and, in time, even bishoprics established.

"No less than six Apostles are supposed to have preached in Britain. These are not the patriotic inventions of Englishmen, but due largely to Continental writers of the 6th and four following centuries. They are guesses, unsupported by any evidence. In the 7th century a more astonishing story appears. Lucius, King of Britain, sent to Pope Eleutherius, about A.D. 174-189, and requested conversion. Whether the request was granted is not stated. The story is certainly untrue. It is rejected by historians of all creeds and schools. It appears first in the biographical lives of Popes known as the '*Liber Pontificalis*,' and originated in Rome, and in such a way that it was not inserted before A.D. 700. From thence it was copied inaccurately into the '*Historia Brittonum*,' ascribed to Nennius, and more accurately into Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Its origin is attributed to the 7th century, when a violent controversy raged between British and Roman bishops, and historical arguments were forged."

In the 4th century of our era we pass into the region of solid facts, and are able to consider tangible evidence given to us by the labours of the archæological explorer. Before leaving behind us the realm of pious fictions, however, we stay a moment to mention one picturesque legend which has greatly struck the fancy of men. I refer to the story of Helena. The author of the story appears to have been Geoffrey of Monmouth, to whom I have already referred. It is perpetuated in the arms of the Borough of Colchester, which date back to the 12th century. Geoffrey mentions no less than three Kings of the name of Cole, the third of the name being King or Chieftain of Colchester, who had killed a Roman usurper that had succeeded Allectus. Hearing of this, the Roman power sent Constantius Chlorus to assume the Government, with whom King Cole or Coel made peace. On his death a few months after, Constantius was crowned, and

married Helena, the daughter of Coel, and had by her a son named Constantine, born at Colchester. Dismissing King Cole from the reckoning, we have Constantius as a real person, who died at York in 300. Helena also had a real existence, and her son, Constantine the Great, was associated by Roman writers with Britain. But the story which has made Helena famous we cannot suppose was other than a medieval invention. She was honoured as a popular saint on May 3rd, the discovery of the Cross, and on September 14th, the exaltation of the Cross. It is told of her that she went to Jerusalem at the request of Constantine to search for relics. She found almost everything worth finding; the true Cross, the three holy nails and other relics. She afterwards went further East and found the remains of the Magi or the three Holy Kings, which enshrined in the Cathedral of Cologne made the fortune of that City. In honour of them Cologne took the three crowns for its City arms. Colchester did the same, each crown surmounts one of the three holy nails. The Cross as found by Helena was of living wood and sprouted when placed in the temple. Helena, by instructions from an angel, divided the Cross into four portions and sent them to different parts of the world. In dismissing these legends we may extract profit from them in the words of a Colchester antiquary, Mr. Gurney Benham—

“Never mind about the literal truth of these legends. Is the allegorical meaning of them true? I do not think you can find a legend with a truer and more beautiful meaning than that of the aged Helena after long journeying and many toils and perils, finding at last the true Cross, the living Cross, the life-giving Cross, the Cross which the angel told her to distribute to the four quarters of the world. No wonder this story captured the imagination of Christendom. So, too, with the legend of the three Holy Kings. These three crowns symbolized what they stood for—the three acceptable gifts, viz., generosity and charity—gold; worship, thankfulness and contrition—frankincense, virtue and sweetness of life—myrrh. The three crowns of life. And the three nails meant the triple anguish of the Great Sacrifice—the agony of mind and soul and body, to save the minds and souls and bodies of all mankind. It is a little sermon, this coat-of-arms. A little sermon, but I have read longer ones which teach less.”

At Roman sites scattered all over Britain, Christian emblems, and, in rare cases, monumental inscriptions have been found. Amongst the earliest symbols of the Saviour is the fish, probably introduced from Alexandria. Its Greek name gave rise to an acrostic which was known as early as the 2nd century. The five component letters standing for the five words reading: “Jesus Christ, Son of God Saviour.” The well-known “Chi Rho” monogram, made up of the two first letters of the Greek word for

Christ, appears to have been introduced as a Christian symbol by Constantine about A.D. 312. The earliest dated example is 323. This monogram has been found at Silchester or Calleva Atrebatum, and at various "villas" elsewhere, as well as on pieces of silver in the famous hoard, a portion of a robber's loot, recently found at Traprain Law. It probably reached this Country by way of Gaul. The most interesting example is certainly that found in exploring the villa at Appleshaw in Hampshire. Buried at one spot on this site was found the whole of the pewter plates and dishes of the family, skilfully made and decorated with niello. On one small plate or saucer was scratched the Chi Rho monogram. It is difficult to suppose this vessel was of secular use, and I prefer the suggestion by a patriarch of the Greek Church made to me when lecturing at the British Museum: that it was the forerunner of the medieval paten, the plate on which the bread was placed at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It calls up to us a vision of simple piety of the 4th century, when the well-to-do owner of this villa—perhaps joined by others of like feeling from the many villas around—met together on the first day of the week to do what Pliny describes the early Christians doing, viz., "To sing, by turns, a hymn to Christ as God, and to bind themselves by a sacred oath to commit no iniquity." The word he uses, "sacramentum," has come down to us in the sacrament. It meant in Rome the oath of allegiance which the soldier took to his captain. The Christians acknowledged Christ as the Captain of his salvation and swore obedience to Him.

The question of buildings set apart for Christian worship naturally arises next. It is certain that until the time of Constantine when the Empire became nominally Christian, there were no churches, and it was not until the edict of Milan in A.D. 312 that basilicas were allowed to be built. The statement that in 314, three bishops, whose names are given, were sent from York, London and Lincoln to the Council at Arles, I am unable to regard as authentic. Bede refers to churches built at Canterbury. St. Martin's in that City has, however, been examined by experts, who have given it as their opinion that though much Roman material is used in the building, none of it is *in situ*, and they prefer to regard it as dating from the 7th or 8th century. But in the year 1892, during the course of the excavations at Silchester, the foundations of a building were laid bare, which bore such a striking resemblance to the 4th century churches discovered in Africa, Italy and Syria, that all doubt was put at rest, and on the most convincing evidence a Christian Church of the Roman period in Britain was exposed to our gaze. A model is placed in the Reading Museum, and as I was in touch with the excavations all along I am able to show you photographs.

taken at the time. The building lay to the South-East of the forum, and was situated in the same insula. It consisted of a central nave with apse at the West end, two side aisles with transverse walls at each end, and a portico or narthex. The nave, porch and apse had a paving of red tesserae. In a line with the chord of the apse and extending into the nave was a square pavement of more ornamental character, composed of black and white tesserae with a border of lozenge pattern, alternately red and grey on a white ground, enclosed with lines of black. In a line with the entrance is a rough pavement of flints, in the centre of which is another, about 4 feet square of red brick. Beside it is a pit or well about 4 feet deep. Here we have a church of the basilican type. The basilica was a Roman court of justice, but the word was applied in the time of Constantine to buildings consecrated to Christian worship. It is, of course, within the bounds of probability that the origin of the building may have been secular, and that in later times it was adapted as a church. It has been pointed out that the space occupied by the square of ornamental pavement was occupied by the Christian altar, or, as I myself prefer to call it, the Lord's Table. The pavement at this part is in good condition and not worn, as though it had been covered by a mat. The celebrant standing in the apse would look East, facing the congregation. The platform of red brick at the entrance probably marks the site of a lavatory. The portico would form the narthex, the name given by Christian writers to the vestibulum in front of a basilica, to which the catechumens and penitents were admitted.

The building was a small one, its extreme length being only just over 40 feet. The number of Christians in Silchester must, therefore, have been few and Paganism probably still in the ascendant, as the remains of two large and two small Pagan temples were discovered.

With this glimpse of Christianity our survey of the Roman occupation ceases. We should much like to know what befell our Country when the Roman legions were withdrawn, but of the next 200 years we have no authentic history. We would fain, however, believe that amidst a time of unrule and disorder, some of those who followed Christ kept the lamp of truth alight, and still retained their faith when the Teutonic tribes invaded Britain, who enshrined the names of their gods in the days of our week. At the coming of Augustine, we enter the domain of reliable history, and Christianity is once more established in our Island. We are bound to state, however, that there had arisen in the meantime great changes of observance and ritual. Monasticism had arisen, and the practices of the Church were far removed from the simple observance of such as gathered in the 4th century in the little basilica at Calleva Atrebatum.

DISCUSSION.

Lieut-Colonel MACKINLAY said:—It is now my privilege to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Dale for his excellent paper. The printed part gives the evidences of the facts which have evidently been most carefully weighed. As the historical data which we possess for the period under consideration in Britain is but scanty, archæological research has rendered reliable aid.

Mr. Dale refers to the Roman leaden ingots found in England, and he states that their weight is determined by the strength of ordinary pack mules, and this is doubtless correct. At the present time the weights of the guns of mountain artillery, carried on mules' backs in order to traverse narrow paths impossible for wheeled transport, are governed in the same way by the strength of ordinary transport mules, the most powerful being selected for the transport of the guns themselves. Mr. Dale refers to the use of lead for coffins, the reason doubtless being that this is a metal which resists oxidation far better than iron. One of the noticeable features in Pompeii is that the leaden pipes belonging to the old houses retain almost entirely the forms which they bore when first constructed, so well does lead resist the action of the weather.

The lantern slides claim our admiration and attention, particularly the first, of the coin with the Chi rho monogram stamped on it.

The carefully drawn plans of Silchester well show the high state of organisation and comfort in a Roman city in Britain. It is interesting to be reminded of the fact that at some time of the year the position of the principal streets can be clearly seen in the growing crops by the colour differing from that around them.

I conclude by asking you to accord by acclamation a hearty vote of thanks for this most interesting paper.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS thought that the evidence for the martyrdom of St. Albans was a little suspicious and enquired whether the name was not in some way connected with Albion, the Roman name of Britain, which would point to his being a mythical person.

With reference to Sir Henry Howorth's most interesting remarks he thought that it was the good emperors who were persecutors, not the bad. Nero only burnt a few Christians to draw off attention from himself, but Prof. Ramsay had shown that Vespasian was really the first persecuting emperor, and he instanced Marcus Aurelius, the very best of the emperors, as a persecutor. He thought the reason was that these good administrators recognized that the principles of Christianity were entirely opposed to their system and would ultimately destroy it.

He quite believed there were other martyrs in Britain, even if there were no St. Alban, but not in the time of Diocletian, as it

was Constantius Chlorus who was then the Cæsar in Britain, and he was favourable to Christianity.

He thought the historian, J. R. Green, and others, had gone too far in seeking for the origins of our nation wholly in Germany, and believed that although it was true that the Anglo-Saxons conquered the British, they mingled with them much as the Normans afterwards mingled with the Saxons.

Dr. SCHOFIELD having to leave early made the following remarks on a paper which was read at the discussion:—There can be no doubt of the value and interest of this much too short paper. It is well established that there was in Great Britain an organised Christian church for some hundred years before the Anglian (Danish) invasion in 449. It must be remembered that Constantine the Great, son of Queen Helena, was crowned at York in 306. That the first Christian Council at Nice was held under him in 325, and also that Paganism had been suppressed and made illegal through the whole Roman Empire 27 years before the Romans finally left England in 418, when they left a flourishing English church, and no sign of British or Roman idolatry (*Encyclopædia Britt.*) then existed.

The Danish conquest swept all this away, and was a heathen triumph, and when 100 years later St. Augustine in 597, brought Christianity again into England, it was in no way founded on the ancient British-Roman church.

It must be remembered, too, that Christianity in England never came from British sources. Romans planted Christianity here twice over. Its earliest introduction is unknown; but there is in my mind little doubt that He who knew all from the beginning, referred to this country in the last words He spoke on earth, when he spoke of the "uttermost parts of the earth" (the well-known "Ultima Thule" of Rome—the then name for Great Britain).

Christianity may have been introduced as early as Apostolic days, but certainly flourished in the third and fourth centuries from its connection with Rome, only to be so thoroughly and almost completely destroyed by the English or Angles (Danes) in the fifth century.

All through our history, after the Apostolic age, Rome planted the truth here, and it never came from a British source—first of all during the rule of the Cæsars, and after under the Popes. In a peculiar sense Christianity in this country is the daughter of the Romish Church, long before the Roman Catholic Church that we know was founded. Only in 597, by Augustine's mission here, was this introduced and finally organised in 690, to be overthrown many hundred years later as the Established religion of this country at the Reformation.

Remarks from Prebendary Fox on Mr. Dale's paper has an interesting note in the prolegomena of 2 Timothy on Claudia. He goes

fully into the evidence of the possibility of her being a British Christian. He does not come to definite conclusion, but merely leaves it as a probability.

Mr. DALE said in reply that he had been most anxious to present to the audience only reliable information on the subject. For this reason he had not quoted the author of "St. Paul in Britain." At the same time he was well aware that there were many who went further than he had felt justified in doing.

640th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, on Monday
20th March, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following gentlemen since the last meeting:—As a Member, Avory W. Holmes-Forbes, Esq. and as Associates, the Rev. P. B. Fraser, M.A., the Rev. J. M. Pollock, M.A., and J. H. Clifford Johnston, Esq.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. F. F. Horton, D.D., to introduce the Discussion on Sunday Observance.

DISCUSSION ON SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.

Introducing Dr. Horton to the meeting, the Chairman said:—We are pleased to welcome here Dr. Horton, who is a man with a special knowledge of the subject before us this afternoon. It is to be hoped that this Institute will be able to voice an utterance on the subject of Sunday Observance that may influence some of those around us, and the leaders of thought in this Metropolis.

The Rev. Dr. Horton said:—Dr. Schofield, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall approach the question this afternoon not from the standpoint of religious ordinance or dogmatic rule, but entirely from the standpoint of practical utility as experience has demonstrated it. In fact, my own view is that the ordinance of the Sabbath by the Jewish law is strictly practical; that it was enjoined upon the people on hygienic grounds, and that the ordinance of the Sabbath day was for the good of men. Our Lord said, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."

It is generally conceded that an interval of rest is necessary to all efficient work. It has been proved by long experience that the interval should be about one day in seven, and wherever that idea has been violated the first experience has been to return to the institution of the seventh day.

During the war, you remember, an effort was made to continue the making of munitions during a seven-day week, but it was suspended entirely on the ground that the munitions were not produced so well as when there was a seventh day of rest. And perhaps a more significant thing was the experience of the French Revolution, when in the hatred of dogmatic institutions the Revolution abolished the Sabbath, and yet found it necessary to have

a day of rest upon the tenth day. And that had to be surrendered because it was found by experience that the tenth day of rest did not accomplish the object accomplished by the seventh day of rest.

I believe it is not only for human beings and the physical frame that this rest is necessary. It is a law that runs all through nature. Not only the animals require rest, but the very machines require rest, and if a machine is used incessantly without a pause it gets out of gear. I am told that that happens with even so rigid a metal as iron—that iron requires rest, and that unless you allow it to rest it gets out of order and disintegrates for the rest which is its due. So we are face to face with a great law which shows that if work is to be done there must be rest. Rest is good, and in the case of man the rest is to be in some such proportion as one day to seven. But there is something which applies to man which does not apply to material. Man is not a machine. The machinery of his body is but a small part of it. Man is a creature who requires something more than the rest of the physical system if he is really to live. There is in man that spiritual element which is easily crushed and trodden down by the rudeness and pressure of the world; and it is absolutely essential and vital to man that this spiritual side of him should recover, and that the shattered personality—shattered perpetually by the strain and toil of life—should have a chance of peace, recovery, of reforming its proper shape, aspect and quality. And as the spiritual part of man is undoubtedly the real man, and as the mere physical side of man is only transitory, this consideration of the spiritual recovery is vital to him; whenever a man forgets he is a spiritual being, and neglects the cultivation and preservation of his spiritual nature, he very rapidly declines.

Therefore, the Sunday Observance we are discussing to-day is not only a law of nature. It is because man is a spiritual being that it is also necessary that he should have a day of rest and worship. Man needs it because he is a man. To get his spiritual faculties restored, to keep them at an efficient level, is part of his life and a most essential part of his life. If it fails, man fails, and the human being degenerates. It is this essential need which suggests the discussion as to how the day of rest is to be used, and preserved when it is in danger, as it is to-day. It also raises the question of the part the State or the Government can take in the preservation of what is really an asset of human life and what may be called one of the great heirlooms of the British people. We must all recognise the peculiar effect upon us of a Sunday morning in Britain. It is, unfortunately, something that you cannot get in any other country, and we miss it when we are abroad. We welcome it with surprise and gratitude when we get

home. What is it? The effect upon the mind is that somehow the wheels of life have been stopped for the moment and we are allowed to look at things as they are.

Employment is arrested. To some extent amusement is arrested, and we are in another atmosphere. That atmosphere of the English Sunday strikes some people as dull. But it does not strike us as dull. On the contrary, it is like new life to us. We feel when the Sunday comes round that the mere fact that we have thrown off the week is a recovery of ourselves. The atmosphere of the day and the prevailing sentiment in the community come to us as one of our best possessions. This day that is given to us—the impression of which is so familiar to us. I never can forget the feeling I had when I embarked on the boat to return from India, after three months in India. It really seemed like Heaven. I was on a P. and O. boat and the first day on the vessel was a Sunday. Being on that boat, with the silence and reverence that pervaded it, seemed an introduction into another world; and though the service on a steamship is not always very inspiring and original—on that occasion the officiating person was the Captain, who did not seem to take much interest in it—yet I hardly ever went into a service which impressed me so much. Certain of the hymns and the reading of the prayers impressed me for the reason that I had been in a country where Sunday was not. The first point about Sunday is that it is for rest. That is the original institution as it came down to us from Judaism. Therefore, what we want to secure in the use of it is that we shall not be called upon to do anything which disturbs the sense of rest. It is that rest which is the condition of religious life. Therefore, from the purely human point of view, whoever or whatever deprives us of our rest is an enemy of society—an unconscious enemy it may be, but an enemy whose faults should be brought home to him that he may repent. You have to-day a terrible violation of the great idea. Every centre of population pours out its people on the day of rest in char-a-bancs and other motors. They tear down the public roads, rush through the quiet villages, and disturb the peaceful prayers of men and women in the countryside. They turn the country into the restlessness of the city. It is a disturbance of our national life which, if we were wise, we should try to prevent. In the life of Burne Jones, the painter, who in a true sense was a religious man—at any rate it was his great point that he should die in the faith, but, unhappily, he belonged to a type of Christianity which knows nothing of Sunday—there is an account of the way he usually spent his Sunday. William Morris would arrive at breakfast and the breakfast would be made an intellectual strain. Then he and Burne Jones would go into the studio. Then friends would come in. Then there was talk—recreation as they thought it was.

Then Lady Burne Jones makes this curious remark—"with the result that Edward on Monday morning was generally more tired than on the Sunday morning." The day of rest had gone. Although it was called recreation, pleasure and art, it was ruinous to the spiritual man. He lost rest.

There is another use of the day which we may plead. It is the opportunity for social intercourse. A great many people have little opportunities during the week of meeting their fellows in any reasonable sense. That is very difficult to get, and it is the day of rest which gives people a chance of knowing their relatives. I always think a family circle round the fire on Sunday is one of the great elements of life. That social life of the day should not be depreciated, because we are greatly starved if we cannot get into touch with our fellow creatures. It is in intercourse, in vital touch with others, that our life is really restored.

But after all, the distinctive use of the day is for worship and for service to God and man. Service to God and man is, to my mind, by far the most important. Those people who seem to have no ability for worship and no call to the service of their fellow man do not value the day on that account, and their indifference to it is one of the dangers of our time. It seems as if a large proportion of men in this country are unable to worship, unconscious of any cause for service to God and man, than ever before. Those numerous people who have no room and concern for either worship or service should, I think, be effectively compelled to observe the day, if not for themselves, yet for the uses which they do not appreciate in others. I think we have not as a rule appealed sufficiently to the public to realise what it is that is demanded. Would you find, for example, any reasonable person in this country who would be comfortable if he knew that throughout the length and breadth of the land there was no worship on that day? Putting it only externally, are there any people who would be pleased to know that all the churches and Heaven-pointing spires were pulled down, and that all the great places of historic memory, where worship has been held for centuries, were wiped out. Would that be acceptable to them? And it is a curious fact that in the vast neglect of public worship to-day you never find anyone who is not a little uneasy about his own neglect, who does not adopt unconsciously an apologetic tone in speaking about it. There is a Scotch story about going to church. One Scotsman asked another, "Which church do you belong to?" The reply was, "Well, I cannot rightly say that I belong to any kirk, but it's the established kirk I keep away from." And that is the attitude of the great majority of men and women in this country. They do not worship, but they

are quite conscious of the obligation. They know they are losing something because they do not worship. The real justification of the rest day is that it is a day for worship. The other days are for work; this is for worship. The other days are to serve our country in other ways; but here is a day in which we serve our country by serving our God, and we bless men by being blessed in approach to God. That seems to me a justification of it.

That leads me just to raise the question, which is very vital to us at the present moment, namely, How are we to preserve this day of rest? And I would make it open as a question of discussion whether it would be possible, or will ultimately be possible, to keep the day of rest unless it is kept for worship? Whether it is not at bottom that worship motive which makes the day what it is, and whether we are not, as people who believe in worship, and believe in the service of God, the only people who can keep this inestimable blessing, this heirloom of our race, for the generations that come after. I doubt whether you can keep this day unless the great bulk of men recognise that it is a day of God, a day for worship. I was, not long ago, in New York on Sunday, and it is an appalling experience. It is a great Anglo-Saxon city in a sense; it has drawn its inspiration from Europe, and especially even from this country. But what a desolating thing it is. There the idea of worship seems to have receded or shrunk to a very small point, and the whole great city seems to hand itself over to the expression of its passions and the practice of its vices. The noise is worse than ever. The tumult, the pushing, the crying make it an intolerable day; and that day which they still keep as a day of release from work is not a day of release from noise and toil; but becomes, if possible, worse than if they were all at work. I doubt if you can keep it unless the sense of worship and the sense of God makes you attach to that day a significance, a sacred meaning, and recognise in it a divine claim. Now I close by saying that the part which the State can take in the preservation of this day of rest is quite limited. We could not possibly tolerate the idea that the State should dictate to us how we should use the day of rest. It seems almost incredible that three centuries ago—four centuries it is now nearly—it was possible to enforce a law to fine every man who did not appear in his parish church on Sunday. It seems incredible that was done. The State can, expressing the general conscience of the community, impose certain restrictions on the actions of citizens which cannot be imposed by agreement, and if the State acts according to the will of the whole people, it can prevent trading on Sunday. It can limit locomotion on Sunday. It can correct or even destroy every form of noisy and disturbing amusement on Sunday. Not on any religious ground at all, but simply on the hygienic principle that for the life of a great

and busy community, a day of rest, a day of silence, a day of peace is an absolute necessity; and though the State cannot in the least determine how we shall use the day in a religious sense, it can on a social ground and in a hygienic sense secure the day as a possibility for all those who wish to use it well. But, after all, this day is not given to us by the State. It is given to us by the higher spiritual principle of our humanity. It is not secured by law; it is secured by a gospel which is the gift to us not of regulations that man has made, but of regulations that God Himself has imprinted on our very nature in making us spiritual beings. (Applause.)

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty to ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks by acclamation to our distinguished lecturer; who has voiced, to my mind, the broadest and highest principles on which Sunday Observance stands. I am sure we have all enjoyed his remarks exceedingly, and, as we listened to them, their weight must have impressed itself on our minds. I am glad to feel such perfect harmony with the speaker, and before asking you to give this hearty vote, I should like to say a word or two myself upon the subject. That the Sabbath was made for man is a truth of which the simplicity of the language conceals the profundity of the thought. You can hardly limit the extent to which the Sabbath was made for man. And by the Sabbath we do not mean the Jewish Sabbath, but we mean the Sabbath of creation—that in creation it was found necessary to have a distinct thought for man in making a Sabbath, an arbitrary elevation of the seventh daily period of his existence for a different purpose from that of the other six, and this is as old as Genesis. As the lecturer has so beautifully shown you, the law is well nigh universal. The law of systole and diastole, or of work and rest. He has shown, and has most fully supported by science, that metals themselves one and all require rest, and that the law of rest extends down to the mineral kingdom. Of course, it extends throughout the whole of the animal kingdom. He has also pointed out another subtle matter which has escaped until recently the attention of many of our leading hygienic reformers. They used to preach that change of work is rest. I had it forcibly brought before me at the Alexandra House by the side of our great hall. There I was told that when it was established the large gymnasium was added to it in order, by change of work, to give the girls who lived there rest from their clerky labours during the remainder of the day—the theory being that a fresh set of nerve centres were employed in swinging over horizontal bars from what were required to write précis and do typewriting and shorthand. But there was a fallacy that lurked there, that showed that work and play are not correlative with work and rest—that play in itself is work of a sort, and that rest means rest

and does not mean other sorts of work. There can be no doubt of the truth that working a fresh set of nerve centres is a great relief to those that are overworked, but it is not the same relief as a complete rest of all of them. Therefore, rest must ever remain rest. Now this rest is of a many-sided character. All through each day we have continual little rests from our labour in our meal times and the pauses in our work. We have a rest every twelve hours in the alternation of day and night. Those who turn night into day, and try and work the twenty-four hours, do far less work than those who follow the law of systole and diastole appointed by day and night. Then there is this weekly rest, which cannot be altered, though man in his superior wisdom to this eternal law has thought fit to try to do so. One day in ten does not seem enough. To do without it altogether is to commit slow suicide. For some inscrutable reason which, I think, we have not at all as yet fathomed, one day in seven seems to be the right amount of rest required by our being. Then there is the annual rest of holidays, and so on, which used to be so entirely ignored. The physician I succeeded boasted very much that he had not taken a holiday for thirty years. That would now be considered a matter for concealment rather than approbation. In the war, as Dr. Horton has pointed out, desperate efforts were made to do away with the essential principle of Sunday Observance, by proving that men could work advantageously seven days a week. It was found to be an absolute fallacy and an impossible plan to carry out. Most men could hardly have a greater change on Sunday than finding themselves inside a church, chapel or mission hall—or wherever they may be—to worship God; for there is not much room for that practice in the week. So that at any rate it involves a change. Then there can be no doubt that in the week they are almost entirely employed with mundane matters, and affairs of time and sense. What, therefore, can be a greater change than to be occupied with spiritual matters on Sunday? I am purposely putting this, not on spiritual grounds, but on medical grounds; I am purposely putting it on grounds which the man in the street is able to appreciate without spiritual instinct or insight. There are higher grounds, but these may not be for all; therefore, I put it on the lowest grounds. You may have a mind, you may be clothed with a body, but the spirit is yourself. Now, I think this law of change, of spiritual nourishment, is a law that can be based on physical and medical grounds. But we, as the Victoria Institute, who believe in the divine authority of Scripture, can appeal at once, of course, to the direct authority of God for our meeting here this afternoon in support of Sunday Observance. And Christians, of course, value this day beyond expression in words, as giving them an opportunity for that communion with the Divine, and with things unseen, that is

the very strength of their daily life. I now ask you to give by acclamation your support of the paper we have heard.

The Rev. J. B. Coles : It is a very happy thing, as Dr. Schofield has just said, when we see that we agree, and that this authority comes from God. I would ask you then, just for a moment or two, to think of the past, the present and the future of this question. It was appointed by God for man. As to the present time we are pretty well agreed, I trust, from the very able arguments used by the lecturer; but now as to the future. It is of great interest to us, that remarkable passage, which some have applied rightly but perhaps not interpreted as clearly. There remaineth therefore a rest, a Sabbath keeping, for the people of God. It is to be for the people hereafter on this earth. In the future. The Hebrew prophets, Isaiah and Ezekiel, show very explicitly that there will be this keeping of this Sabbath, in connection, of course, with Israel's return to the land and the righteous law which shall go forth throughout the world. So that in the past we have the covenant, the patriarchal enjoyment, and here we should perhaps be wise in disentangling the argument about Sunday from its more Jewish or Mosaic aspect. It was before the law, just as the Lord himself said, it was not of Moses but of the fathers, the patriarchs. So, of course, the institution of Sunday was. In the case of the covenant of Noah, it is well to remember that one of our most important enactments, which is not derived from the Mosaic law, is capital punishment—Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. That goes back to the covenant of Noah. Are not the people, quite apart from what their religious feeling may be nowadays—are not they indebted to God for His mercy at the time of which we are reminded by the rainbow? The seasons as they come and go, is it not in God's long-suffering goodness that this Noachian covenant persists to this day? It affects, therefore, all the people, whether they are Christians or not. I venture to think it takes a wider view of the matter. If we take past, present and future we see that Scripture in every way upholds the wise and very alert and careful arguments of our able lecturer.

Lt.-Col. Biddulph, D.S.O. : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, there are just one or two little remarks which I wish to make—for I heartily endorse all that Dr. Horton has said this afternoon—and to take two or three little every-day axioms which may bring it home to the man in the street, so to speak. Take the first, the human element; people training for any great event in athletics, and so on, if they don't rest from time to time they get what is called "stale." That is, the whole system needs readjustment. Secondly, here is an example from the animal kingdom. We know that when the omnibuses were horsed, as they were a few years ago, the omnibus companies were very par-

ticular to give every horse in their service one day's rest in seven. We may be quite sure that was not done from a sentimental regard for Sunday, but because the companies found they could get the best value out of the horses that way. So many horses rested every day; they were distributed through the whole service; they got one day in seven. Then, as mentioned by Dr. Schofield and Dr. Horton, there is a danger of our thinking that change only is required; but if we do that we shall soon get to an absolute neglect of the Sabbath as a rest. We remember, too, that in the old days, when the Sabbath was strictly enjoined on the Israelites, they used to find the manna every day when they went out. There was none on the seventh day, but they were told—and this was to reward them for their obedience to what was God's command—that they should get a double quantity on the sixth day; and that was found to be the case. So there was no loss. Many people tell you, "We cannot afford to give it up; we must work on Sunday." We have an idea of looking on many of the laws of God as being arbitrary, just like things which are merely given in order to hedge us in and annoy us. That is a mistaken opinion. If we understood the laws we should find they were given us for our good. When we tell the child not to go near the fire, it is not to spoil his amusement, but to prevent him from tumbling in and burning himself. I have noticed, since I was a young man, a great decadence in England on the observance of Sunday. I remember when I joined the service, thirty-six years ago, it was considered bad form in an officer's mess to play cards on Sunday. We did not use the billiard room either. We did not play lawn tennis, or enter into any sports or games on Sunday. There was really no conscientious feeling against it on the part of the majority of officers in those days, but it was not considered good form to do those things on Sunday. There has been a change in the feeling about it. France and the Continent generally, which are always looked upon by us as rather leading us in this direction, seem now to be coming round the other way. I read in the "Morning Post," I think three days ago—I have the cutting here—that there was the annual meeting in Paris of the Cardinals and Archbishops of France, and amongst other things the Assembly protested against the degeneracy of public morality caused by the theatres, cinemas and dancing, and insisted that Catholics should do all in their power to ensure the keeping of Sunday as a day of rest.

Mr. Sidney Collett: In the limited time one has to be very brief, but in considering the subject we have to bear in mind the three aspects of the Day of God. There is the Sabbath of Creation, there is the Sabbath under the Law, and there is the Sabbath under grace. With regard to the Sabbath of Creation, it has its divine side and its human side. I believe the divine

side is first of all in that it contains God's demand upon man. God made man. God is man's Creator, and He claims one-seventh of our time whether we are Christians or not. I let a house and say to the man, "You may live in the house, but must pay a rent"; and God demands one-seventh of man's time. Then it also deals with God's desire—God's desire is that man should be like God. God rests one day, and He desires man to rest one day in seven; and I believe in that measure in which we recognise that, we too shall grow like God. But then there is the human side of Creation in that it meets man's spiritual need first: "God knew how busy man would be, how seldom from this world set free; and so He gave one day in seven, that man might think of God and heaven." Then it meets man's temporal need of rest; we have heard a great deal about that; I need not enlarge on it. We come to the Sabbath under Law. Many people make the mistake of thinking that the Sabbath was introduced at Sinai; it was not. It was re-enacted there, in beautiful keeping with the dispensation teaching of the Word of God. If we had time I would suggest that you should study the composition of the Ten Commandments; and you would find how wonderfully it is arranged. The Fourth Commandment, dealing with the Sabbath Day, is not numerically the centre, but doctrinally it is the centre. You will find this wonderful fact about the Ten Commandments; the first three are all relating to God, and three is God's number. The last six are all in relation to man; six is the number of man; that is why Anti-Christ's number is 666. The Sabbath Commandment in the centre looks both ways; God claims it from man; man needs it for himself and his fellow creatures as well. It is a most wonderful system of arrangement, and that it is not merely Jewish is clearly shown by the fact that the Sixth Commandment begins with the word "Remember." Why call it a Jewish command? Why pick out one of ten? What about the others, are they Jewish? What about, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not bear false witness? You don't call them Jewish. It is a re-enactment of an original law applied in the Word of God in perfect keeping with the dispensational teaching of that Word. We come to the Sabbath under grace. There is no doubt the day was altered in New Testament times; but it was only going back to the original law of grace. Adam was made on the sixth day, and the first morning he woke up was the day of rest. The first day he lived was the rest day, and in the New Testament idea of the Sabbath as being the first day, we go back to the original. There are four sides enclosing this consideration: In the first place it seems clear that the Apostles did rest and recognise the First Day; secondly, they would never have thought of it themselves; thirdly, they would never have dared to make such an alteration. Therefore, it must have been introduced by our Lord Himself—no one

of those Apostles would have dared to take one of the Ten Commandments and alter it. God further marked out the day by raising Jesus Christ, and further still by sending the Holy Spirit on the early Church on that day; and our Lord, after His resurrection, met His disciples again and again on that same day.

Mr. W. Hoste: I am so glad that the opener of the discussion based his general arguments on the very strong basis of experience—experience of what is necessary and essential. Now that is true, but I believe it is weak to base the argument to-day on direct Scriptural teaching—which I fear is not really valid because it is not applicable directly to us. I cannot agree with some previous speakers who based their argument on the assertion that the Sabbath dates from Creation; I believe it is a misreading of the Genesis passage. It is nowhere said there that God commanded Adam to keep the Sabbath; it merely states that God sanctified it for Himself, and He rested on that day. Mark you, those words occur in the text. I am one of those who firmly believe in the inspiration and absolute historical truth of the first chapters of Genesis, and I am thankful to affirm it—but those words do not occur as part of God's exhortation to Adam. He told him to do some things, but He did not tell him to keep the Sabbath; and were it otherwise it would be very strange that there is not a single occurrence from Creation to Sinai of any patriarch resting on the Sabbath Day. Surely we should have had some instances of this.

Mr. Sidney Collett: What about the manna, Mr. Hoste? That was before Sinai.

Mr. Hoste: That was given on the eve of Sinai. So I do not think it is right to go back to Genesis. In Exodus, Jehovah says, "Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily My Sabbaths ye shall keep; for it is a sign between Me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you"; and again in Ezekiel He reminds His people, "Moreover also I gave them my Sabbaths to be a sign between Me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctified them." So that the Sabbath, to my mind, was clearly given as a sign; just as the rainbow was given for the Noachian Covenant, and circumcision for the Abrahamic Covenant, so the Sabbath was given for the Sinaitic Covenant. But now, how about the non-observance of the Lord's Day? I think it is a straw that shows where a man is. A man who can neglect God all through the seven days is a man going, I am afraid, in the wrong direction; and a man needs to repent, and to know that if he does not recognise God he will not be recognised by God. (Hear, hear.) Just in closing, what is this day? I do not think there is any thought of it having been changed from the Sabbath, a sort of modified Sabbath. People who talk like

that make the Sabbath what they like. I never heard one of these friends say, "I won't take milk in; I won't light a fire." I think it is a wrong application. In the early days the Sabbath and the first day of the week, I believe, went on together. A great deal more light was given, and the Christians were shown that they were not on Jewish ground at all. With reference to what Mr. Collett said about the Sabbath, I would point this out. All the other Commandments are reiterated in the New Testament—in the Epistles—and the only one which is not reiterated is the fourth; and the only occasion in which it is mentioned, besides the spiritual one in Hebrews, is in the second of Colossians, where we are warned specially against it. "Don't put yourself under the Sabbath law" is the principal for all Christians. If it is not the Jews' day, as the Sabbath was, is it my day? No, even less. It is the Lord's Day, the day set apart by the resurrection of Christ, in which I may specially turn my mind to Him whose day it is; and that is the only principle I know for the Lord's people. It is not a legal principle, but is a great privilege for them to recognise that it is the Lord's Day.

Mr. Theodore Roberts: Dr. Schofield, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not find myself altogether in agreement with many of the speakers. I cannot myself see that there is any command to mankind generally to observe the Sabbath Day, and I think that in seeking to make it out people have strained the text of Scripture. I think we must agree with what Mr. Hoste has brought before us, that it was distinctly a Jewish ordinance. But, then, I would put it in this way, the Jews were taken up by God as His special people, to be the recipients of a most wonderful communication of His mind, and thus what He said to them may be very well taken as a model for mankind generally; not in the letter of it, but in the spirit of it; and if He found in His wisdom that His particular people required one day in seven for rest, we may be quite sure that mankind everywhere requires one day in seven. Might I recall an incident of a friend of mine, a banker, who was travelling by train, when some sportsmen got into the carriage and filled it up. They were young men of wealth who were spending the whole of their time in going from one race meeting or athletic meeting to another; and, talking of their engagements that were crowding on them in the week to come, one of them said to the other, "What a mercy that Sunday does come once in the week." They were making a business of pleasure and were glad to have one day's rest from the business of their pleasure. (Hear, hear.) The change from Saturday to Sunday, brought about as it was by Christian practice, and nothing else, is one of the most convincing proofs of the historical fact of the resurrection of Christ that can be found. For if He did not rise on the first day of the week, how came it that a Christian community should take that day

instead of the day to which they had been accustomed up till that moment? Very often a Christian does more work on the first day of the week than on any other day. I agree with what has been said here to-day, that change of occupation is the very greatest form of recreation; and to change from our earthly and mundane concerns, whatever they may be, to an occupation that is spiritual—even if it is taxing and hard—is such a change that I believe it revives the whole man. I would only say, in conclusion, that I think it is very important for all of us who seek to commend the Gospel that we believe, that we should never allow men to think we are in any way contributing to the work that is done on the first day of the week—that we recognise for men around us that God's ordinance for Israel, while not of binding effect, yet has that effect of example and experience that we do well to show men that we think it should be observed by them. Therefore I am thoroughly at one with all that has been said to-day as to our duty, each in our measure and sphere, to see that this one day in seven—not the Sabbath, but the first day of the week—is observed by the whole nation, so far as we are able.

The Chairman: With regard to what Mr. Roberts has just said about the clergy and ministers, it may not be generally known that they are, the wise ones among them, not all, the most scrupulous observers of one day's rest in seven; but owing to their work it does not happen to be Sunday. It is another day which I will not name, lest you should call upon them on that day. Those that are not wise are continually in my hands.

Dr. Withers Green: For the sake of discussion I would like to say that I think the Sunday is a day for work. My view of worship is that it is very hard work, much harder than an ordinary day's business work. The priests of old had double work to do on the Sabbath, not only to kill one lamb morning and evening, but two lambs. They were made to do more work. I suppose the worship was to be more intense, and all the worshippers in all Israel were to do a thorough day's hard work in worship, in harmony with those two lambs. There are some kinds of work we must not do on Sunday, it is quite plain, just as there are some we must do. We must not do servile work. We are to do all the work that is necessary for what man must eat. That includes a great deal, as the ladies know. But our Lord Himself was careful to work on Sunday. We have it figured plainly, the withered arm and other instances point to working on Sunday. My view of Sunday travelling is this; it is not to be done for selfishness or material gain, but for the Lord's work. The best way to better one's fellow men is to preach the Gospel to them. On those grounds I ride on Sunday. When I was younger I remember walking eight miles from the City to Wimbledon to preach the Gospel in the evening. I got to Wimbledon rather fagged. The

good lady of the house took care to refresh me, but I do not think I did the work so well. When we have to do the Lord's work we ought to travel and keep ourselves in the best condition, so that when we preach we may preach well and not in a lazy or tired way. To me the great day of rest is a day for honouring God. We are priests and priestesses unto God. I love the quiet of the Sunday morning, when there is no noise, but I enjoy the Sunday for the sake of the work. (Applause.)

Captain Higgins: We must remember this, in the New Testament, St. Paul certainly laid it down that you are not to judge a man concerning his keeping of the Sabbath day. I think I can discuss this impartially because my theory and practice are quite different. In the first place, so far as theory is concerned, it seems to me, looking at the New Testament, that if a man will worship God in the early part of the day, it is perfectly right that he should amuse himself in a reasonable way the latter part of the day. I do not agree with the last speaker about travelling on Sunday—I mean as far as practical work is concerned—because you are keeping someone else, the 'bus conductor, from his day of rest. I never do it. But servile work, he said, you should not carry out. In the Anglo-Saxon laws of Ida, if a man made his slave work on Sunday the slave could claim his freedom. So, apparently, the Church objected to servile work; and I think very rightly. But I quite agree that the way in which nowadays Sunday is entirely neglected is really a very serious thing for the country. I know years ago I was churchwarden of a church for many years, and we used to have it crowded with young people. Now the church is practically empty. Cycling came along, and they went out cycling. On theory it seems perfectly right, if the people went to church the first part of the day, and then went out to amuse themselves, you could not raise an objection. During the war I had a military job, and had to work on Sundays; but was very fortunate in being near two churches. One had service at 6 in the morning, the other at 7; I could go to church and then go to work. But to go out, as people have got into the habit of doing, without going to worship, is a most serious thing. One practical thing. I am an officer of a local authority in London now. If you people could get your local representatives to see that the workmen are not made to work on Sunday, you would be doing a very good thing. In some places they send out far too many men, and spoil their Sunday entirely.

Mr. A. W. Oke: I have been listening to what has been said about the Ten Commandments. That one about the Sabbath. It seems to me that no State can be carried on without the observance of all those Commandments, and knowing that they were promulgated at Mount Sinai, one cannot help feeling that they were part of the moral law from the creation. We may not have

them laid down in express words in Genesis, but there is that one word "Remember." Dr. Horton has spoken about the negative influence of Government. It seems to me that what we want is a modification of the law. We want to restrain the enormous number of railways and steam-boats and facilities on Sunday. Now that the working people have so much more leisure in the week there is no need to make Sunday the great day for excursions. Let the cheap trains be on the week-days, and don't put the temptation to poor people, and well-to-do people, too, to take the opportunity of going down to the seaside on Sunday because it is the only day that is at a reasonable rate. One does feel that restraint could be put on the public amusement. There was an attempt to open museums on Sunday. Was it for the sake of museums? Was it not rather to open wide the door so that we should have a Continental Sunday? One was pleased, visiting France just before the war, that there were distinct signs of a return to a more peaceful Sunday. Let us within our power influence Members of Parliament, and Members of District Councils in different places, to see that there shall be a limitation put to these facilities for keeping the Sunday in a way that is really, as had been shown by the speakers to-day, harmful rather than restful for all.

Lt.-Col. Molony: In 1885 a railway was being made from Suakim towards Berber. As it was war time, they decided to work on Sunday. The first Sunday they laid one mile, but it was very badly laid; it was called the Sunday mile, it was so jolty. It gave rise to a good deal of discussion, and the general opinion was that it does not pay to work on Sunday. That was the general opinion in South Africa. Most officers, as the war went on, steadily reduced Sunday work. Not only on our side, but on the Boers' side. Joubert did his best to keep Sunday. It was the same thing in the Great War. It was generally ordered that although groups of offices must keep open to deal with anything urgent, as many people as possible should be given a rest; and towards the end of that war it was laid down that the Pay Offices should be shut entirely. The Scotch feel that there is some difficulty in getting one's mind into the correct attitude for worship, and the best thing is on Sunday morning, not to allow the mind to dwell on the weekly things which are likely to fill your thoughts and prevent you doing justice to worship. I have been asked to move a vote of thanks to our Chairman, Dr. Schofield. I am sorry to say that he says he will not be able to come amongst us so much in the future as he has done in the past, as he is going to live in the Isle of Wight. We are all very sorry for this. Dr. Schofield's knowledge of the work of this Institute has, I believe, always kept us straight. He has done much to further the work, and his *savoir faire* has been most useful.

Dr. Horton: If the Chairman calls on me to say a word or two, it would be simply to express the great interest that this discussion has given to me. I am very well rewarded for coming. If you usually have discussions of this sort I should like to be a member of the Institute, but I doubt if you keep up to this level. Of the many things that have been said, there was one I wanted, as it were, to correct. Two speakers spoke of the work of the Minister or Clergyman on Sunday being work, and being a necessary violation of the great principle of rest. In fact, our friend on the right seemed to glory in the fact that Sunday was a day of work. Now my experience is rather opposed to that. It is true that I have to take service on Sunday, and that sometimes I have a sense of physical exhaustion at the close of the day. But all through my long work to this very day, Sunday has always seemed to me a day of very great rest; and it stands out in my memory as week by week a new experience of the mysterious law that where you lose yourself in God, and His works, there is a rest unspeakable; and I think it is one of the great blessings of being a Minister of the Gospel that you are not only allowed, but you are equipped to lose yourself in Him, that your preaching and teaching are of no value unless you have gone and He is there, and it is in that sense that I feel, and have experienced, all through this curious reality of the day of rest in what appears to be a day of work. You, Mr. Chairman, say that if we do not take a day in the week we shall come into your hands, and that you have to deal with those unwise preachers of the Gospel who neglect this law. Well, for more than thirty years I never took a day in the week. I took the six days of work and the Sunday for rest—resting consisting of perpetual preaching and teaching, but none the less perfect rest; and when I began after about thirty years to take Monday as my day of rest and recreation, I did it from the advice of people of the medical profession; but it is a perfect nuisance to this day; and I feel with an old man that I was talking to last night. He has been fifty years in one place as minister. He said to me last night that he always felt when Sunday was over a miserable regret it was gone, and he began to long for the next Sunday; and that Sunday of his—in one place, remember, for fifty years—has meant for him health and strength, and he shows no sign to-day of any decline; because he has rested his soul in the Lord by preaching His Gospel, and by winning people to Himself. Therefore, I just take a little exception to what has been said. The Minister of the Gospel of Christ, if he is true to his function, will find that God quite knows that he has to work from one point of view on the day of rest; but God also takes good care that the work done for Him shall be rest to his soul and to his body.

641st ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W. on Monday,
April 10th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

Dr. JAMES W. THIRTLE, M.R.A.S., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the Hon. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following gentlemen as Associates:—Dr. Arthur Ponsonby Moore-Anderson, the Rev. William W. Craig, D.D., the Rev. Canon Cyril J. Wyche, and the Rev. Prof. John Gresham Machen, D.D.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Theodore Roberts to read his paper on "Seven Decisive and Suggestive Scenes in the History of the Secular Contest between Conscience and Power."

SEVEN DECISIVE AND SUGGESTIVE SCENES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SECULAR CONTEST BETWEEN CONSCIENCE AND POWER.

By THEODORE ROBERTS Esq.

"συνειδὸς ἀγαθὸν φιλεῖ παρρησιάζεσθαι"

"A good conscience likes to speak out."—*Pausanias.*

I remember reading in Lord Morley's Life of Gladstone how that great man expressed his concurrence with the historian Grote's view that there were only two supremely interesting subjects in the world, *viz.*, theology and politics, with which opinion I beg leave humbly to express my entire concurrence.

As the subject which I have chosen is one which lies midway between theology and politics, it will be my own fault if I fail to make it interesting. I must, however, bear in mind the caution contained in our rules that this platform is not to be used for the purpose of forwarding any sectarian or political views. I hope, therefore, that no one will be able from a perusal of my paper to identify me with any less inclusive title than that of Christian, which is, indeed, all I ever wish to be known by.

I cannot deny that some haunting reminiscence of reading Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* in my youth has led me to propose to treat the history of conscience in its contest with power in an analogous way. I have sometimes occupied my idle moments in speculating what might have been the consequence of Napoleon winning the Battle of Waterloo, and I could see no reason why he should not have firmly re-established the power of France as the first military nation and bequeathed that power to his generals as Alexander the Great did before him. So that if our great countryman had not conquered him at Waterloo, we might never have had the late war, but be still living in the same fear of French aggression as possessed our forefathers even long after the death of the great Napoleon, as witness Tennyson's "Third of February, 1852," and "Riflemen, Form!"

That which makes Creasy's *Decisive Battles* more interesting than battles of crows and kites is the fact that those engaged in them were beings endowed with reason and initiative and capable of appreciating things moral.

But, which ever way these military contests went, the result must be to a large extent at least materialistic, and I must, therefore, make the most of the superior interest of things moral over things material in order to make up for my own deficiencies in investing the subject I am taking with the supreme interest that it deserves.

It may be fairly objected that to place so much emphasis on particular incidents is not portraying history faithfully—that we have learned in modern times to look for the gradual evolution of great movements and principles which are not to be turned back by one event. No doubt there is much truth in this. A great movement is like a mighty river gradually gaining force, and with force both depth and width, and is not to be dammed up by any barrages. Nevertheless, such a river can at a given point by the exercise of a little ingenuity be diverted, so as to take quite a different course to that which it otherwise would.

I think it is often the same with the course of religious and political movements, and nothing interests me so profoundly as to recognize the personal effect of some great man on a crisis in human history. Nay, more, believing as I do not only in a general overruling Providence, but that God raises up and sustains men of spiritual power to stand for that part of the Christian revelation which He sees is needful to be emphasized at a particular time, I recognize that there are crises in spiritual movements where the action of God's special witnesses has decisive consequences in directing the flow of such movements into regions where they may, under God's good hand, become a source of fertility to after generations.

So far as I understand it, conscience, quite as much as reason, differentiates man from the rest of the creatures on this planet. But conscience is superior to reason in that reason is not necessarily amenable to moral considerations, as witness the great minds of Julius Cæsar and Napoleon, men wholly immoral, using that word in the widest and truest sense. Conscience is spoken of by St. Paul in his great treatise entitled "The Epistle to the Romans" as that which within man bears witness to him of good and evil and leads to self-accusation or self-excuse (Chap. ii. 15), but it does not appear in the early ages of the history of mankind to have had any place given it by the philosophers."

Even the famous incident of the unjust condemnation and death of Socrates, the most attractive of all the ancient philosophers, is very far from being a question of conscience. All that Mr. Benn in his recent work on the Greek Philosophers (p. 137) can say is:—"Here, in this one cause, the real central issue between two abstract principles, the principle of authority and the principle of reason, was cleared from all adventitious circumstances, and disputed on its own intrinsic merits with the usual weapons of argument on the one side and brute force on the other."

Conscience necessarily brings in the thought of responsibility to God, and, therefore, it has been well said that while man's reason may be infidel, his conscience never is. By conscience, accordingly, I understand that intuition or voice within us which judges our actions and thoughts (and by inference the actions and words of others) as morally good or morally bad. As Wordsworth puts it—

"Conscience revered and obeyed,
As God's most intimate presence in the soul."

For conscience, therefore, to come into opposition to power it is plain that that power must be itself morally bad and opposed to God. I use the word "power" rather than "authority," because, strictly speaking, the only true authority is that of God, and consequently cannot come into opposition with conscience. I do not limit power to what is physical, but include in the term the force of established customs and public opinion.

We may say that so long as God's ancient people Israel were maintained in any kind of outward relationship to Him, conscience and power could not, strictly speaking, come into contest at all, and this was definitely taught by the Jewish law, for the man who kept it was to prosper in everything.

The contrast between that dispensation and the Christian dispensation is summed up by the great Bacon in his sentence that "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction."

I.

It may, therefore, seem at first sight a little strange that I can take, as the first of my seven scenes, in which conscience and power are opposed, an incident which is recorded in the Book of Daniel; but we must remember that this occurred after the Jewish people had, according to the prophet Jeremiah, been rejected on account of their sins by the Divine Governor of the world in favour of the great Gentile monarch Nebuchadnezzar.

I make no apology for treating the Book of Daniel as authentic history, in spite of the so-called Higher Critics. I am glad to be able to refer to two papers lately read from this desk by men specially competent to deal with the subject and endorsed in this room by other true experts. These papers have shown us, first, that there is nothing in the language of the Book inconsistent with its having been actually written by Daniel, and, secondly, that its references to contemporary history are borne out by the most recent archæological research.

I might perhaps be allowed to refer to Dr. Pusey's point that the order "Medes and Persians," in which these two great amalgamated nations are mentioned in Daniel vi. 8, 12, 15 and viii. 20, in contrast with the order "Persians and Medes" in the later written Book of Esther (Chapter i. 3, 18, 19), proves that Daniel must have been composed while the amalgamation was yet recent and the Persians' power had not become plainly predominant. It is inconceivable if the writer lived after the downfall of that empire, as the higher critics allege, he could have put the two names in an order which had passed out of use in the early days of the monarchy and made most of the people which had long ago lost its separate entity in the Persian nation.

The relation of miracles in the Book cannot form a difficulty for those who believe in the bodily resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and we have His testimony to the fact that Daniel was the writer of the Book.

The incident I bring before you concerns those three Hebrew youths who refused to bow before the image erected by Nebuchadnezzar in the Plain of Dura, and if we consider their situation, I think we shall see that there is not to be found in all history a finer example of suffering for conscience sake.

Although of the seed royal of Judah, they had, in accordance with Isaiah's prophecy to their forefather Hezekiah, been made eunuchs in the court of the king of Babylon, whose power over them was absolute. They had witnessed the subjugation of their native country, and their own enslavement had been sealed in a

peculiarly barbarous manner. This did not prevent their refusal under Daniel's leadership of participation in the king's meat and wine, no doubt in obedience to Moses, whose law was still valid for them. They may have found it comparatively easy to follow Daniel in his protest, but in the present scene they had to stand on their own faith and with a horrible death in view as the penalty for obeying conscience.

Might I remark in passing that, if this Book had a merely human origin such as the critics contend, we should certainly have had some explanation given of the absence on this crucial occasion of Daniel, who is by the critics posed as the great hero of the Book.

There is something noble and attractive in standing for a great leader or for the worship of some venerated religious object, but it is much more difficult to be enthusiastic over a negation, and it cannot be too clearly pointed out that the witness of these three youths was entirely negative.

The image which they refused to worship was no doubt suggested by the dream which Daniel had recently first told and then interpreted to Nebuchadnezzar, and the king whose command they dared to disobey was not only the greatest monarch in the world, but the one about whom their own nation's prophet Jeremiah had said that all nations must submit to him (Chapter xxvii. 6-8). The Protestant Princes might refuse to bow to the Roman consecrated Host in later times at the Diet in Germany, but they had a large body of public opinion behind them, whereas these three youths stood absolutely alone.

Nebuchadnezzar appears to have felt some special interest in his former page-boys, for he took the trouble to offer them a second chance of obeying his command. But they tell the great king, in whose hands their lives appeared to be, that they are not careful to answer him, at once anticipating our Lord's direction in after days to His disciples. After affirming that their God could deliver them they add: "But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

I know nothing finer in all history than this answer, which heralded the entrance of a new moral force into this world, before which the mightiest monarchies were to crumble in the dust.

The same conscientious scruple led thousands of Christian martyrs to refuse to throw a little incense on the altar burning before the statue of the Roman Emperor of the day, although they knew it meant death to refuse.

The latter part of the Book of Isaiah's prophecy contains the account of two separate controversies of Jehovah with Israel, one in respect of their idolatry (Chapters xl. to xlviii.), and the other in respect of their treatment of His Servant (Chapters xlix. to lvii). The faith of these three Hebrew youths appears to have purged the nation from idolatry, but it is not without significance that the men, who escaped from the Babylonish captivity and refused all the blandishments of Antiochus the Great and endured his persecutions, in their zeal for the exclusive worship of Jehovah, had as their lineal descendants the Pharisees who crucified our Lord. So surely does true religion turn to hypocrisy when left in human hands.

II.

In the next Scene I bring before you the witnesses for conscience stand on more difficult ground. Peter and the Apostles had been brought up to regard the great Council of the nation with its High Priest and doctors of the law as entitled to unquestioning obedience, for they sat in Moses' seat. Yet the apostles stand up before that Council, their very speech betraying that they were ignorant peasants, and give utterance to that magnificent asseveration of freedom of conscience, "We ought to obey God rather than men." They were not setting up any right of independent action, for they say, "We ought to obey," and then they add "God rather than men," in order to meet the claims of that venerable religion which they had ever been taught to reverence, but which, by its rejection of their Master, had lost all claim to divine authority over them.

We have here the conscience of man in obedience to faith in the new Revelation disowning the claim of a religious system originally established by God.

There is no more convincing proof of the Resurrection of our Lord than that these men who had fled like timid hares a few weeks before, when He was arrested, could now brave the Council who had done Him to death and charge them with His murder. Nothing but the fact that they had actually seen Him alive again and thus triumphant over His enemies could have nerved them thus to bear witness to Him.

Here we trace the beginning of that loyalty to Christ which was to fill the annals of the world with innumerable examples of a nobility of spirit in slaves and other depressed classes that incomparably transcend all the much vaunted heroic virtue and public spirit of Greece and Rome. Compare, for example, with Stephen praying for those who were in the act of stoning him to death; Brutus, generally acclaimed as the most patriotic and commonly called the last of the Romans, imprecating punishment on his enemies, when about to commit

suicide in despair of his country; or Socrates, the best of non-Christian teachers, refusing to escape by bribery from his death sentence, with the slave Blandina in A.D. 177, enduring prolonged and terrible tortures until death released her, and amidst her greatest agonies merely protesting, "I am a Christian and no wickedness is done among us."

III.

We now withdraw within the Christian circle and find our third decisive Scene in the well-known controversy between Paul and Peter at Antioch, related by the former in his Epistle to the Galatians, the most characteristic of all his writings. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, like Athanasius in a later day, found himself alone against the rest. The coming of the strict Jews from James at Jerusalem had led Peter to forsake those very Gentiles to whom he had opened the door of salvation at Cæsarea and to set up a narrower circle than true Christian fellowship, and Paul sorrowfully records that even the faithful Barnabas was swept away by the rising tide of Jewish exclusivism.

He at once recognized what was at stake, nothing less than the whole conception of Christianity as a world religion, afterwards so wonderfully expounded by him in his Epistle to the Ephesians (so called). So he took the daring step, so inexplicable to those who assert the Primacy of Peter and the infallibility of the Roman bishops, among whom they vainly place the Apostle, of publicly arraigning that Apostle before the whole Antiochian church for his patent denial of true Christian liberty.

But we must not regard the Apostle Paul as a statesman acting with a view to the future, but rather as a simple believer whose conscience compelled him to adhere at all cost to his divinely given concept of the Gospel. It required no small courage for him to oppose men like Peter and Barnabas, long his seniors in the faith, with the whole Church apparently behind them; but what he did then at Antioch bore fruit in the decree of the first Christian Council, that at Jerusalem, held (I believe) shortly after this scene, at which the Gentile believers were put on a platform of perfect equality with their Jewish brethren. He himself speaks of refusing to give place to his opponents, even for an hour, in order that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Gentile believers, which shows what he felt was in question in the dispute.

IV.

We now pass from the sure ground of holy writ to the equally interesting history of the Christian church in later ages. In our next decisive Scene we find Christianity so established in the world that participation in its rites is regarded as a privilege by the greatest of monarchs.

In the year of our Lord 390 the great city of Thessalonica was convulsed by a seditious insurrection, in the course of which the imperial general and several of his principal officers were inhumanly murdered by the populace. The occasion of the insurrection only aggravated its guilt.

Theodosius the Great was reigning at the time and, being of a somewhat impulsive and fiery temper, ordered his barbarian auxiliaries to massacre the inhabitants, with the result that at least 7,000 were slain. When the great Ambrose, then Archbishop of Milan, the imperial seat of government, heard of this he retired into the country grief-stricken and addressed a private letter to the emperor, pointing out the seriousness of his crime and suggesting that he should confine himself to prayer and should not presume to receive the holy eucharist with hands that were still polluted with innocent blood. Though many of his predecessors had professed Christianity, Theodosius was the first emperor who gave any certain signs of true conversion, and in private he deeply bewailed the sin of which he had been guilty. When, however, Sunday came round he presented himself, as in former times, at the great Cathedral of Milan to take the communion. Ambrose stopped him in the porch, declaring that more was needed than private repentance for such a public sin as that which he had committed. Theodosius ventured to suggest that if he had been guilty of murder, David, the man after God's own heart, had committed not only murder, but adultery. To this Ambrose replied: "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," and for eight months the monarch of the Roman world was debarred from the sacrament and appeared in the Cathedral as a penitent for his sin.

This scene represents perhaps the greatest triumph of conscience over supreme power. Never in the past had a monarch been publicly debarred of religious privileges on account of personal guilt; and if we recall the Third Napoleon partaking of the sacrament in the Cathedral of Notre Dame after he had broken his oath to the French Republic and usurped imperial power, imprisoning and massacring his opponents, as so eloquently described by Kinglake in his history of the Crimean War, we must admit that the moral force of conscience is not as great in our times as it was in the period, which some of us are pleased to refer to as the Dark Ages.

It is interesting to note that Theodosius was the last universal ruler of the civilized world, for the empire was divided on his death between his two sons and never reunited, nor has any sole world-ruler since appeared.

It was no longer a case of conscience energising feeble men to resist the world power unto blood, but of conscience compelling that world power to obey its behests. No one can deny that

the moral force which the church exercised on this occasion was entirely salutary. But we can hardly say the same of the world-famous scene of Henry IV. of the restored western Roman Empire in January, 1077, standing in the snow in the thin linen dress of a penitent outside the castle of Canossa and there fasting, waiting humbly for the absolution of the arrogant priest within, the Pope Gregory VII., better known as Hildebrand, which was necessary for his continuance in the empire. Well might Bismarck in his contest with the Pope of his day protest that "Germany will not again go to Canossa."

Alas, we have not long to trace the Roman church's history before we find her using the veneration which she had inspired for the basest of purposes. In the words of our Lord's parable "The servant who should have given the household meat in due season began to beat his fellow servants." Therefore, in our next scene we shall find conscience standing up against all the might of the Roman hierarchy in league with the temporal power.

V.

For my fifth scene I take you to the famous Diet of Worms in the year 1521, when Martin Luther appeared before all the princes of Germany presided over by the young emperor Charles the Fifth. History records that there had been no assemblage so numerous and brilliant since the days of Charlemagne, seven centuries before. The emperor himself had gathered up the crowns of more kingdoms than had ever yet been united on a single head. He was king of all the various kingdoms that now make up Spain, and he also ruled over the greater part of Italy and the whole of our present Belgium and Holland. In the New World the valuable West Indian Islands, Mexico, Central America, Peru, as well as the Philippines, were his, while his brother, also present, ruled over Hungary, Bohemia and the adjacent lands; so that with the exception of France and England, who, however, both sent ambassadors to the Diet, practically the whole civilized world was represented at Worms.

Even to go to Worms at all required great courage on the part of Luther, when he remembered the fate of John Huss, who went to Constance a century earlier relying on the safe conduct of Charles' predecessor Sigismund, which he violated and allowed Huss to be burned; but Luther's reply to his friends who would have dissuaded him is well known: "Though there were as many devils in Worms as the tiles on the housetops," still he would enter it.

On his way he passed through Erfurt where as a monk he had first learned the truth of the Gospel. The sermon which he preached there on his journey to Worms has come down to us, and perhaps I may quote a passage from it in order to show exactly what was the truth for which Luther was standing.

"Philosophers, doctors and writers," said the preacher, "have endeavoured to teach men the way to obtain everlasting life, and they have not succeeded. I will now tell it to you:—

"There are two kinds of works—works not of ourselves, and these are good; our own works, they are of little worth. One man builds a church; another goes on a pilgrimage to St. Iago of Compostella, or St. Peter's; a third fasts, takes the cowl, and goes bare-foot; another does something else. All these works are nothingness, and will come to naught, for our own works have no virtue in them. But I am now going to tell you what is the true work. God has raised one Man from the dead, the Lord Jesu Christ, that He might destroy death, expiate sin, and shut the gates of hell. This is the work of salvation.

"Christ has vanquished! This is the joyful news! and we are saved by His work, and not by our own. . . . Our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'Peace be unto you! behold my hands,' that is to say, Behold, O man! it is I, I alone, who have taken away thy sins, and ransomed thee; and now thou hast peace, saith the Lord."

It was the first time for centuries that the truth of justification by faith had been thus clearly stated. Those who had previously rejected the prevailing superstitions of Rome had ultimately been silenced, nor had their doctrine been as clear as that of the monk who now shook the world. If he could have been cowed or coerced into silence, it is likely that Calvin would never have had a safe place in which to preach, nor should we have had any real reformation in England. Not only had Luther the fate of the early reformers to remind him of his own danger, but he was standing up against a church which had been united by the Council that burned Huss and had, therefore, a greater apparent claim to the obedience of mankind. It was a church which he had been taught to reverence as the only true representative of the Divine Revelation on earth, a church whose creeds indeed set forth the faith of the earlier and purer ages.

It is interesting to learn that it was on his journey to this Council that Luther composed his famous hymn, "A strong tower is our God," and sang it sitting in his conveyance as the towers of Worms appeared in view. When he reached the gates the citizens left their dinner and with all the multitude of princes, nobles and men of all the nations gathered there gave the monk a greater reception than had met the emperor a few days before.

On the following morning Luther appeared before the Diet, someone whispering in his ear, as he entered, "Fear not them that can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do." On this occasion he was asked two questions, first, "Did he acknowledge his books?" which had been collected and placed

on the table, and, secondly, "Was he prepared to retract and disavow the opinions he had advanced in them?" To the first question he replied, after their titles had been read, that the books were his, and as to the second he asked for time for a reply, which was granted until the morrow. I have often thought that crowned heads have less of the gift of discerning character than the rest of mankind, and Charles, though the ablest man since the Christian era who has reigned by hereditary right, except Charlemagne and Frederick the Great, proved no exception to this observation. He had not taken his eyes off Luther during the whole time that he was before him, but his opinion was unfavourable, he said: "Certainly that monk will never make a heretic of me."

On the following day, after a night spent in prayer, Luther again appeared before the Diet and spoke for about an hour in German, repeating it in Latin for the emperor's benefit, as he knew not the tongue of the great nation over which he ruled. In substance he defended what he had written, though expressing great readiness to be shown where he was wrong, and before he closed he added a word of warning which must have sounded strange to that glittering throng of kings and princes. He told them they were on their trial, and referred to the great monarchies of ancient time, which, he said, by fighting against God, had brought upon themselves utter ruin, and counselled them to take warning by these examples. When he ceased to speak the Chancellor of Treves, Dr. Eck, pressed for a direct answer: "Would he or would he not retract?"

Undismayed, Luther replied: "Since your most Serene Majesty, and your High Mightiness, require from me a direct and precise answer, I will give you one, and it is this. I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the Councils, because it is clear as day they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless, therefore, I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or on plain and clear grounds of reason, so that conscience shall bind me to make acknowledgment of error, *I can and will not retract*, for it is neither safe nor wise to do anything contrary to conscience." And then, looking round on the Council, he said—and the words are among the sublimest in history—"Here I stand. I can do no other. May God help me. Amen."

These words still move us after four centuries. The impression which they made on the princes was overpowering, and a murmur of applause, as emphatic as the respect due to the Emperor's presence permitted, burst out in the Diet.

Luther then retired and was allowed to leave the city unharmed. The awakened public opinion of Europe, aroused chiefly by his writings, would not permit the violation of his safe conduct.

Luther had struck a blow for conscience, the effects of which are still apparent. One hundred and fifty years later Bunyan, in his immortal allegory, could depict Giant Pope in his cave, surrounded by the bones of his former victims, but gnashing his teeth because he could not touch the pilgrims of that day.

VI.

We now pass to a much smaller circle, the city of Geneva. In the middle years of the 16th century John Calvin, who shares with Napoleon and Voltaire, men so utterly different from him, the place of the three foremost Frenchmen of all time, had moulded a theocratic state, which became the model of Presbyterians in Scotland, this country and in America. But he had to deal with republican institutions, and a democratic government which necessarily regarded all citizens as equal in privilege. He had taught the Genevans that the highest of all privileges was participation in the rites of the Church, and when he appeared to discriminate between those who desired to take the communion he encountered the opposition of the party which was called by the stricter sort the party of the Libertines. The question was similar to that which was raised in the great scene between Ambrose and Theodosius, namely, that of the Christian conscience seeking to keep holy the most precious ordinance of its religion.

The crisis arose through a proposal to transfer the power of excommunication from the Consistory, which was composed of the ministers of the City and twelve laymen, to the Senate, which represented merely the civil power of the City. There was one Berthelier, son of the martyr of 1521, who had for evil-living been debarred by the Consistory from participation in the sacrament. This man appeared before the Council of the City and demanded the annulment of the sentence of the Spiritual Court against him. In spite of Calvin's remonstrance the Council complied with Berthelier's request.

It is significant to find that the Libertine or popular party was supporting Servetus in his argumentative contest with Calvin which was proceeding at the same time. As regards the Reformer's responsibility for the ultimate fate of his opponent, I will only quote Coleridge's comment: "If ever poor fanatic thrust himself into the flames it was Servetus."

Within two days of Berthelier's absolution by the Council, Sacrament Sunday came. In the meanwhile the Council had disregarded the protest of all the City pastors against its interference in things spiritual.

On Sunday, September 3rd, 1553, just a generation after Luther's appearance before the Diet, Calvin had to stand against those who would use the rights of civil citizenship to desecrate the Communion Table. Calvin preached in the Cathedral as usual

and took for his subject the state of mind with which the Lord's Supper ought to be received. At the close of his sermon, raising his voice, he said, "As for me, so long as God shall leave me here, since he hath given me fortitude, and I have received it from him, I will employ it, whatever betide; and I will guide myself by my Master's rule, which is to me clear and well known. As we are now about to receive the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, if anyone who has been debarred by the Consistory shall approach this table, though it should cost my life, I will show myself such as I ought to be."

When the prayer and praise of the vast congregation were concluded, Calvin came down from the pulpit and took his stand before the Table. Lifting up the white napkin he displayed the symbols of Christ's body and blood, the food destined for believing souls. Having blessed the bread and wine, he was about to distribute them to the congregation. At that moment there was seen a movement among the Libertines, as if they would seize the bread and the cup. The Reformer, covering the sacred symbols with his hands, exclaimed in a voice that rang through the edifice, "These hands you may crush; these arms you may lop off; my life you may take; my blood is yours, you may shed it; but you shall never force me to give holy things to the profane, and dishonour the table of my God." These words broke like a thunder-peal over the Libertines. As if an invisible power had flung back the ungodly host, they slunk away abashed, the congregation opening a passage for their retreat. A deep calm succeeded; and "the sacred ordinance," says Beza, "was celebrated with a profound silence, and under a solemn awe in all present, as if the Deity himself had been visible among them."

In this scene again conscience prevailed over the brute force that was ranged against it, and, if we consider the issues, the victory was greater than the German Reformer's at Worms.

If Calvin had given way the Sacrament would have been robbed of all its meaning and become a mere civil pledge of citizenship, such as it became in England at a later period through the operation of the Test Acts, which required everybody holding office under government to take the Sacrament.

Calvin's faith and courage on this day preserved the Reformed Churches that looked to him as their leader from subservience to the civil power in things spiritual.

VII.

For our seventh and last decisive scene I propose to come to our own country and to refer to the greatest religious leader that the English nation has ever produced, John Wesley, who shares with Shakespeare and Cromwell the foremost place among men of our nation. Born in 1703 and dying in 1791, his life almost covered the 18th century.

In May, 1738, he passed through that spiritual experience which it was his mission to press upon all his hearers from that day forward as a necessity for true salvation. He says in his diary: "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

It is interesting to see how the assurance Wesley then and there received of his own pardon produced corresponding feelings towards those who had ill-treated him, for on the next day he records in his diary: "I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart." Having regard to the immense results which flowed from Wesley's work, Lecky, the rationalistic historian, describes Wesley's conversion thus recorded as the most important event of the 18th century in English history.

Having received this blessing through the Moravian brethren, who had brought over from Germany a more spiritual Gospel than was then current in England, Wesley almost immediately proceeded to Germany, not returning until September, when, as he tells us in his diary, Sunday, the 17th, "I began again to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation."

Within six months of this another crisis occurred in Wesley's life that was fraught with more momentous consequences than even his conversion. This was his decision to preach in the open air, which marked the beginning of that beneficent activity that made him the greatest field preacher that ever was. But we had better have the account in his own words. He records in his diary on March 31st, 1739, a Saturday: "I reached Bristol and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set an example on Sunday [the next day]; having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church."

On that day, April 1st, he records in his diary how, Whitefield having left him, he expounded to a little society in Nicholas Street the Sermon on the Mount, adding "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching, though I suppose there were churches at that time also."

On the following day, Monday, the decisive moment came, for he records: "At four in the afternoon, I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city to about three thousand people. The scripture on which I spoke was this: (is it possible anyone should be ignorant, that it is ful-

filled in every true Minister of Christ?) 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.' "

As is apparent from his own words describing the incident and what led up to it, Wesley's habit of mind was essentially conservative, and it therefore required the most definite assurance that he was obeying his conscience to enable him to set at naught the religious conventions of his day, in which he had been brought up, and on the side of which were ranged the power of the established church, which still commanded Wesley's love and veneration.

It was not the first time that Christian preachers had used the fields even in our own country, and on this particular occasion Wesley had been preceded by Whitefield, but what gave Wesley's first open-air sermon its decisive character arose from those extraordinary gifts of leadership and authority which he possessed beyond any other man of his time.

Henceforth, he turned not back, and as he was gradually shut out from the churches, and public assembly halls were not yet, he was compelled to rely almost exclusively on field-preaching.

For over fifty years he continued this work, until England, Scotland and Ireland were studded with Methodist Societies, all looking up to Wesley as their founder.

Had he flinched at the critical moment from doing violation to his preconceived notions, it is difficult to see how he could ever have been a real power for world-wide good, as his opportunities for preaching would have been narrowed down to the few and tiny meeting-houses of the new society.

Some historians have said that it was the Wesleyan movement which saved England from the horrors of the French revolution by producing a new spirit among the working classes. But whether this be so or not, this movement undoubtedly was the parent of that revival which led to the establishment of the missionary societies and, in the last century, to the sending forth of Christ's Gospel from this our land to the very ends of the earth. At the present time, I believe, there is only one country in the world into which Christian missionaries have not penetrated, Afghanistan, and this on account of some Convention between our Government and the old Russian Government prohibiting propaganda from either side.

If those persons who presume to think that Christianity is decaying and may ultimately disappear from the world, would take the trouble to contrast the condition of the Christian religion

in China, India or Central Africa to-day with what it was only fifty years ago, they would find good grounds for abandoning their presumption.

CONCLUSION.

Having now completed the task which I set before me, I will ask you to spare me a few minutes longer, in which to summarise briefly the lessons which I think may be learned from the incidents I have endeavoured to describe.

In the first we have the conscience of three Hebrew youths defying the autocratic world-power of Nebuchadnezzar in its attempt to impose a universal idol-worship. In this case conscience comes before us as operating in a purely negative way.

In the second scene we have the conscience of the twelve apostles defying a religious authority, which originally had a divine sanction over them but which now forbade them to preach Christ. In this scene conscience is found to require its possessors to occupy an aggressive and positive position.

In the third scene we find the conscience of one man, Paul, withstanding the force of public opinion and great and justly honoured names in order to maintain the world-wide character of true Christian fellowship.

In the fourth scene we have the conscience of one man, Ambrose, withstanding the autocratic universal world-power of the day in order to maintain the holiness of Christian fellowship.

In the fifth scene we find the conscience of one man, Luther, leading him to defy all the power and prestige of the great world-system, into which the professing Christian church had gradually passed, in order to maintain the right of the individual to obey his conscience. It is somewhat akin to our third scene, in that it is the orthodox religious position which is assailed by conscience.

In the sixth scene we have Calvin withstanding a democratic state power in order to maintain the holiness of Christian fellowship. This carries us back to our fourth scene, where the issue was the same, although the power opposing conscience here is democratic rather than monarchic.

In our seventh and last scene we have individual conscience defying the conventions of an established religion, backed up by popular opinion, in order to give effect to its irresistible impulse to make known to the multitude a salvation received and enjoyed.

Conscience is thus seen to have been the great determining factor in each crisis in the evolution of true religion on the earth, using the term religion in its proper sense as the answer on the part of man to the Divine Revelation. It is this moral factor of conscience which distinguishes the religion of the Bible from the other religions, whether merely national or universal, as Mahomedanism or Buddhism.

It may seem at first sight an exception to this that in the

present day we find non-Christians exhibiting scruples of conscience, such as Mrs. Annie Besant refusing to take the sacrament with her dying mother without informing the clergyman who administered it, the late Dean Stanley, that she was an atheist. And no one would think of questioning that Lord Morley is a conscientious man, although he would disclaim any profession of Christianity. But it must be remembered that, although men to-day may repudiate Christianity, they cannot erase from their minds, or indeed from their manners, the effect which the prevalence of its principles in the world around them has produced. Although refusing the name of Christian they are essentially a product of the Christian religion, which has operated on long generations of their forefathers and in their own early training. Anyone who doubts this has only to compare the state of society in the first three centuries of our era with what obtains to-day amongst us, the one being the result of philosophy appealing to men's reason, and the other of the Christian Revelation appealing to men's conscience. The sceptic Matthew Arnold's description taken almost verbatim from a contemporary Roman poet, is well known,

" On that hard Pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell,
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell."

When first we find the new religion confronting the old non-Christian system, we get Paul's well-known declaration in his defence before the Roman governor Felix, " Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward men." (Acts xxiv. 16). A man whose conscience thus responds both to divine and human claims is the noblest product of our religion, as indeed the speaker of these words was in his time.

There is nothing we should prize so much as an exercised conscience, whether in ourselves or in others, and even if the other man's obedience to his conscience leads him to differ very widely from me, I need to treat him with the highest respect, though I may think him badly instructed.

Nothing was so humiliating to my mind during the late war as the wave of reprobation, to use no stronger term, which swept over our land against those whose conscience forbade them to kill or to take any part in warfare. It is no doubt very disagreeable when at grips with a foe to find those who will not move one finger to help you, but you will do well to remember that if you get such men on your side in any future contest they will prove your most redoubtable supporters. I recollect hearing how *The Times* wrote after one of Bright's greatest speeches

against the Crimean War, "What would Mr. Bright be on a war of which he approved? It would be a war terrible to the enemies of England."

If these fragmentary remarks put together amid the stress of a busy life succeed in interesting any of my hearers in the history of true religion, to me a subject of commanding attraction, I shall feel amply repaid for the preparation of this paper.

DISCUSSION.

This communication from Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD was read:—May I be permitted to suggest an alternative to the lecturer's view of conscience. He appears to regard it somewhat as a power placed within us, that has the *intrinsic* faculty of distinguishing right from wrong. Is such really the case? His paper is a carefully written and interesting record of seven instances when conscience so acted, and which he has selected as being of special import in the history of the world. I would submit to this institute the suggestion that the reason why the action of conscience in these seven cases so clearly distinguished right from wrong and good from evil was not due, as this author appears to suggest, primarily to conscience at all. It may be that one reason why I write now is because, as a physician, I have had endless trouble with all sorts of consciences which have been a perfect plague to their owners, being morbid, crochety, and the like. It may be objected that such consciences are more or less diseased. In a sense this is true, but it is not the reason I assign for their perplexing and disastrous effects. I consider, indeed, that even in its normal and natural condition conscience has not the intrinsic knowledge which the author describes on p. 124: "By conscience accordingly, I understand that intuition or voice within us, which judges our actions and thoughts as morally good or morally bad." The whole paper proceeds to show that the word "judges" here certainly means "rightly" or "intuitively judges." Such I fear is not the case; for to me it seems there is no intrinsic knowledge of right, or even intuition about conscience at all, and to prove this I need not go outside Scripture, although it is illustrated every day.

May I use an illustration to make my meaning clear?

A sundial owes *all* its value to light; without light it is the most useless structure that exists. But even light is of no value to make it of use, unless it be one special sort of light—sunlight. Only in this light does it give the correct response to the questions with which it is concerned. In this case not those of right or wrong, but concerning time. These answers, however, are not intuition by any means, but very much the contrary. They are indeed wholly dependent for their value not on the dial at all, but on the sunlight.

Let the dial be illumined with any other light—by the moon, by a camp or candle, and the sundial will as surely record the opposite to the truth; and thus if, instead of time, the issues had been moral, would call good evil and evil good.

God alone really knows these issues of good and evil, and if only the view of conscience taken in the paper be held, there seems some danger of regarding it as an expression of the voice of an immanent God, and especially if its voice be said to be intuitive, which surely it is not.

There seems no possible reasons to doubt that when Paul, on the steps of the fortress of Antonia, declared (Acts xxiii. 1) that he had "lived before God in all good conscience until this day," and further in 2 Timothy i. 3, when he said, "God, whom I serve from my forefathers in a pure conscience" that he referred to his whole life when he "verily (i.e., conscientiously) thought with himself that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth (Acts xxvi. 9). Few can doubt that S. Paul's conscience was as "good" when he called "evil" "good" and good, evil, as subsequently when after the true Light shone on his conscience on the way to Damascus, and at last his conscience recognised the good, as good and evil as evil.

It is even credible that the inquisition perpetrated their atrocities with a good conscience, but under a wrong light. Indeed when the conscience is not under God's light there is no limit to the evil it can do. The fact is the conscience *per se* is the most unreliable guide imaginable, as its registers are absolutely dependant on the light that shines on it at the time, and not on any intuition at all.

The seven instances given by Mr. Roberts are undoubtedly true registers of good, simply because the true Light of God's Word was shining on the sundial of the conscience in every case. With most, alas, it is not so; and so long as the conscience is illumined by any false light, so long will its result be unreliable, and often the direct opposite of truth.

(1). Mr. W. E. LESLIE said: Man has the power of directly or intuitively perceiving three fundamental values—the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. The area of the True and of the Good which can be directly or intuitively perceived is very limited, the bulk of our knowledge is indirect or inferred, and is therefore susceptible of error. In addition to this there is in the case of the Good a sense of obligation to perform acts which are either perceived or inferred to be Good. If "conscience" could be limited to the immediate perception or intuition, and the obligation experienced to perform acts believed to be good it might properly be said to be infallible. But in the paper, as in common usage, it includes indirect or inferred elements, and must therefore be said to be fallible.

(2). Mr. Roberts' assumption that when Conscience and Power come into conflict Conscience is always right and Power wrong is thus seen to be baseless. This raises the interesting question—by what principle are we to determine when Power may properly override Conscience?

(3). Why is the conflict between Christianity (Conscience) and the world order (Power) so much less acute than it has been? Will our doctrinal orthodoxy ever produce any more vigorous reaction than dislike if it is divorced from its practical moral implicates? I suggest, for example, that if we dwelt less upon the mint anise and cummin of abstention from alcohol, tobacco, dancing, cards, theatres, and Sabbath desecration; and by speech and example fearlessly condemned the selfishness of any man living in comfort (to say nothing of luxury) while his neighbour was in want, we should speedily find ourselves in agonizing conflict with the flesh within and the world without.

Lt.-Col. F. A. MOLONY said: Mr. Roberts has very well shown us the great part which conscience has played in promoting spiritual progress and reforms.

But to do that he has been compelled to select outstanding and unusual incidents, in which men and women have been constrained by the inward voice to set themselves in opposition to constituted authority and governments. It would be a pity if anyone were to go away with the idea that conscience usually works along unpatriotic lines, or that its everyday working hinders and incommodes those who are specially responsible for the welfare of mankind. I am sure that the opposite is the case.

For instance, the conscientious administration of justice in India, the conscientious work of railway and canal engineers, of police and forest officers, and especially Missionaries, doubtless had much to do with keeping India loyal during the great war.

I have often thought that our success in recent wars has been largely due to the uniform excellence of our weapons, supplies and munitions. And, of course, conscience had a great deal to do with maintaining that same excellence.

Even in the case of the conscientious objectors to which Mr. Roberts referred, conscience did not work against the interests of the army so much as is commonly supposed. I had two companies of them working under me in Scotland. They were composed of two classes—religious men and Socialists. The religious men did very good and useful work, at a time when it was extremely difficult to get necessary work done.

Thus on the whole, in its every day working, conscience is a most useful servant of Governments—even in war time.

Lt.-Col. HOPE BIDDULPH said:—I am sorry that in this fine paper our learned lecturer has referred to the conscientious objectors. as if they were in any way on a par with the heroes mentioned in the seven cases he has depicted. To be consistent a C.O. should not take advantage of police protection, nor cling to paid work which can only be secured by the men who fought. In fact, to paraphrase St. Paul—if he will not fight, neither should he reap the advantages which fighting has secured. A public duty owed to a civilised state cannot be conscientiously ignored if it injures other people. I do not, of course, include acts of worship, or divine homage.

Mr. W. HOSTE said: I think we owe a real debt to Mr. Roberts for his inspiring paper. The criticism of those who belittle the authority of conscience seems hardly reasonable. Because a conscience unilluminated by the true light may and does go wrong, conscience is not therefore wrong. It works wrong, because wrongly handled. As to the origin of conscience, surely it was the only thing man gained by the fall, "knowledge of good and evil," without the ability to attain to the former or avoid the latter.

Of one thing we may be sure, it is never safe to ignore conscience in the moral and spiritual domain. But we must not confound conscience with what may masquerade under its name. We may question whether a Torquemada knew much about conscience. (We must not confound that with religious fanaticism, nor yet with private fads and fancies.) We hear much about "conscientious objections" to-day, but much that passes thus may be merely self-opinionatedness, for it operates in spheres where private conscience has no authority. Then conscience becomes a usurper. A man says he has "conscientious" objection to vaccination; these might be medical, traditional, social, but it does not seem clear how they can be "conscientious." Should a "conscience" which endangers the community be respected? That is an "intrusive" conscience which meddles with matters outside its sphere. I must render "to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,"—is it for each individual to define "the things that are Cæsars" by the light of nature? Cæsar may be a bad man (he was when Paul wrote Rom. xiii. 7), and may spend my taxes on bad things. How can I support a bad man in bad things? I "conscientiously" object. No, says Paul, "we must needs be subject (i.e., to the powers that be) not only for wrath so as to escape it, but also for conscience sake." "Leave to Cæsar his responsibility. He must render an account to God. You pay your rates and taxes!" But if Cæsar tells me to worship his gods and not to worship the true God, then he is intruding into the domain of God, to whom I must "render the things of God." But laws, perhaps arbitrary and oppressive, which do not directly infringe on the rights of God I must conscientiously obey. With reference to the closing remarks of our lecturer, need we try

(in the case of a misbeliever who is also a conscientious man) to take all the credit to the influences of Christianity. The Christian has not the monopoly of a sense of right. Does not Romans ii. teach that the Gentiles, even when quite outside the sphere of God's direct revelation, are still responsible to God in their measure, and have a conscience which accuses or excuses them!

THE LECTURER'S REPLY.

Referring to Dr. Schofield's communication I need hardly add much to Mr. Hoste's reference thereto, but I think I might say that Dr. Schofield seems hardly justified in judging of conscience by the abnormal cases which he has come across in his practice as a physician. We might as well judge of reason by the madness of lunatics. I think the sundial is a rather unfortunate example for Dr. Schofield to have taken of the fallibility of conscience, as it never goes wrong. It was the only time-piece that Parliament could not alter by the Summer Time Act.

As regards Paul's conscience he could do no other even in his unconverted state than take it as a guide, and it only led him wrong for want of that right instruction which he afterwards received.

As regards Mr. Leslie's remarks, I think he goes too far in claiming infallibility for conscience, and I think also he is wrong if I am correct in understanding him to say that the state has the right to override conscience if it be for the good of the great majority. I think it is this principle which operated in Germany and produced the late war. On the contrary, I believe that a small minority of conscientious people are so valuable an asset that any nation will do well to cultivate them, for they are the salt of the earth. Mr. Leslie's regret that the contest between conscience and power appears to have died out in modern times should make him welcome the conscientious objector. I believe that the main reason for the change to which Mr. Leslie refers is the gradual permeation of the modern world by Christian principles, which, however, have become corrupted in the process. Yet they have produced the toleration of Christianity which we see everywhere around us except perhaps in Russia.

With regard to Colonel Molony's criticism I would not say that conscience is always opposed to power, but the reason why I have only referred to cases when this is so is that it is only in such cases that conscience is seen to advantage and comes out in its true glory.

As regards Col. Biddulph's remarks, I cannot agree that it is the duty of a Christian to submit himself to the law of the land, except only in cases of religious worship. If that law interferes with his conscience toward God in other matters, I believe it may be his duty to refuse to obey it, as we get in 1 Peter ii. 19: "If a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully, this is acceptable."

642nd ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,
THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday,
May 1st, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D. IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the Hon. SECRETARY announced the election of the following as Associates:— John Henry Purchase, Esq., T. H. Gellert, Esq., Albert Hiorth, Esq., C.E., the Rev. L. G. Bomford, M.A., and the Rev. and Mrs. H. E. Cooper. Dr. Schofield drew attention to the Election of Mr. Hiorth, who was a distinguished Norwegian Engineer.

The Chairman then introduced to the Meeting, the new President, the Very Rev. Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Dr. Schofield then vacated the chair in favour of Dr. Wace.

Dr. Wace then called upon the Rev. J. O. F. Murray, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and Hon. Canon of Ely, to read his paper on "The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ."

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

BY THE REV. J. O. F. MURRAY, D.D., Master of the Selwyn College, Cambridge, Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral.

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ is the central event of human history. I do not imagine that any historian is likely to challenge Mr. T. R. Glover's judgment when he says in *The Conflict of Religions Within the Roman Empire*, "Jesus of Nazareth does stand in the centre of human history; He has brought God and man into a new relation; and He is the personal concern of every one of us." His appeal to men is through His Cross, seen in the light of His Resurrection. The Resurrection is, therefore, the pivotal point on which our whole estimate of His Person and Place in the Universe depends. It must be obvious, therefore, that it is impossible in the limits of a single paper to deal adequately with "The evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." It will be necessary to concentrate on a special part of it. And I propose to concentrate attention on that part of the evidence which is supplied by the New Testament.

At the same time the evidence constitutes, I believe, an organic and closely interrelated whole. And no single part of it can be rightly appreciated, or bear the whole weight of the momentous

conclusion, in isolation. It is of vital importance, therefore, that we should make an effort, however inadequate, to set the fact itself in its full context, before we come to close quarters with the special department of the evidence on which our faith in the fact rests that I have chosen for detailed examination. For though the evidence of the New Testament seems, at first sight, a simple enough matter of literary and historical criticism, the manifold divergences between experts, to all outward appearance equally qualified, and equally desirous of arriving at the truth, is enough to warn us that the problem is not so simple as it seems. Du Rose's paradox is fully justified. "The Resurrection is the best attested and the most incredible fact in history." It provides, therefore, a searching test of our readiness to reconsider our premises, our willingness to follow reason whithersoever it may guide us irrespective of our *præjudicia*. The fact is that it is impossible to come to the consideration of the evidence for the Resurrection, or indeed of any other evidence, with a strictly open mind. Our estimate of the trustworthiness of the Evangelists, and of the sources of information at their disposal, is at every point determined by the "canons of probability," which we lay down for ourselves when we start on our enquiry. The phenomena with which the narratives deal are certainly unique. If the accounts that they give are to be taken at their "face value," they are evidence of the operation of a force, of which we have as yet no other example in human experience. If they stood by themselves, Dr. Rashdall would no doubt be justified in his contention that "any hypothesis would be more possible" than that they are veridical. But they do not stand by themselves, and my first contention is that no justice can be done to the evidence of the Gospels unless the experience that they record is seen in its full context of human history.

We need not for our present purpose go back to trace the Hand of God in the training of His people Israel, and the background of prophetic preparation which the Gospels everywhere imply. It is enough to remember that Jesus claimed to be "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed": that in intention at least He died to redeem mankind, and to bring in the Kingdom of God, throwing the whole weight of the world's salvation on His Father in heaven, in obedience to Whose Will He went unflinchingly to the Cross. This on the one side, and on the other this. Belief in the Resurrection, belief in the fact that this sublime confidence was not misplaced, but that Jesus was indeed raised from the dead, as St. Paul says, "by the glory of the Father," is the keystone of the Christian Creed. That faith transformed the timid, vacillating, broken-hearted band of disciples, making them indomitable witnesses of His sovereignty, and sending them forth into all the world as indefatigable heralds of the Gospel of His

e and of the glory of the Cross of shame. That faith is still for nineteen centuries, in spite of tremendous upheavals in the social and political condition of the world, and in spite of the inconceivable extension of the horizon of human thought, the spring of the deepest and most inwardly transforming experience in the lives of countless myriads of those who are called by His Name, so that He is at this moment the spiritual power centre of the whole life of the Church and through the Church of the world: not only because He has given us an assurance of personal immortality by "bringing life and incorruption to light by the Gospel," but by exerting an immediate, personal, redeeming and transforming influence on those who believe in Him, which carries with it a moral evidence in heart and conscience, which P. T. Forsyth* rightly maintains goes deeper than any merely logical demonstration.

At this point an objection is sure to rise in many minds who are willing enough to go the whole way with me so far. Surely, they will say: "The root of the matter is just here. You cannot compare in intrinsic importance acceptance of the fact of the Empty Tomb with realisation of the present living power of Christ. Why worry us and endanger such faith as we have with the consideration of what is after all only a physical detail? Can we not with Harnack accept 'the Easter Faith' that Christ is risen, while we throw over, or suspend judgment on, 'the Easter Message' of the Empty Tomb? We believe whole-heartedly that Jesus conquered death. We do not know, and to tell the truth we do not care, what became of His Body. We have the kernel of the truth: the narrative, which has served as a protective husk to it in the past, has done its work, and may cheerfully be consigned to oblivion."

This attitude is a not-unnatural reaction to an attempt to press the evidence of "miracles" farther than it will go, and to treat this, the Divinest of signs, as if it had a power in itself to coerce assent. No power from without can compel conviction. Even the Son of God Himself, as Symeon warns His Blessed Mother, must be to the end "an ambiguous sign." The Divine element, the Hand of God, in a "miracle" can never, any more than the inner meaning of a Parable, be perceived by those that are without.

At the same time, I do not think that it is only due to my Scotch pertinacity that I find it impossible to acquiesce in this position. The kernel and husk metaphor is attractive, but I am not convinced that it really applies to the relation between one part of the evidence for our Lord's Resurrection and the rest. It was natural piety, no doubt, which made the faithful women

**The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, p. 200.

so anxious to do all honour to the dead Body of their Lord. The words to Mary of Bethany in St. John xii. 7 suggest that He Himself anticipated, and at least did not discourage in prospect this reverent and affectionate attention. "Let her," He said, "keep the ointment against the day of my embalming." I do not think that we can, even at this distance of time, without loss, be completely indifferent to what became of His Body.

I have indeed no wish to insist on acceptance of the fact of the Empty Tomb as a condition precedent to any genuine faith in the Resurrection. But I do plead with those, who while rejecting the Easter Message yet accept the Easter Faith, to remember that their faith itself assures them that something happened after the Death of Jesus, which is none the less super-normal, none the less differentiates Him from all other men that its results are manifested in the spiritual rather than in the material sphere: and that, therefore, the *a priori* objection to the Easter Message, which has hitherto dominated all their criticism of the Gospel narratives, the objection, I mean, that it requires us to believe in an event which is absolutely unique in human experience, no longer holds. Something unprecedented certainly took place in the spiritual sphere, and it is at least conceivable that that event in the spiritual sphere had a counterpart in the material.

I do not, of course, mean to suggest that a present spiritual experience can guarantee the occurrence of any specific fact in the past. Nor should we on the strength of it be any less careful to allow for the fallibility of human testimony, especially when it comes from simple people who find themselves in unfamiliar circumstances. But at least the assumption that their experience must fit into a normal mould disappears. We are no longer compelled to treat the narratives as the free creation of pious imaginations trying to justify to others a conviction which rests for the narrator on quite other grounds. It is strange how differently the Gospel stories read when we lay aside for the time the rôle of a barrister, whose one object is to discredit an adverse witness, and come to them sympathetically, believing that they have something to teach us, which may be as yet "undreamt of in our philosophy." We can, indeed, hardly arrive at a fair estimate of the actual strength of the evidence as long as we approach it with presuppositions which would make it impossible for us to accept it, even if it were true.

Let us come, then, once more to an examination of the New Testament evidence. It is well on all grounds to begin with the Epistles of St. Paul. His correspondence, we must remember, was incidental and unsystematic. He was writing in each case to correspondents already grounded in the Christian Tradition, and acquainted with at least the outline of the Gospel story. He does not go back on ground already traversed in their pre-

liminary instruction, unless it is necessary for the elucidation of some point of present interest. It is fortunate for our present purpose that questions were raised in Corinth touching the general resurrection of the dead, which led St. Paul to recall the evidence for the Resurrection of our Lord.

There is, we must remember, no suggestion that anyone in Corinth challenged the fact of that Resurrection: but, as in St. Paul's view, the doctrine of the general resurrection was determined and defined directly by our Lord's, he took occasion to recall their attention to it, and to summarise concisely the evidence to which he had from the first appealed in support of it.

I have given reasons elsewhere* for believing that the list of witnesses, which he recites goes back in substance to the very beginning of the history of the Church. We must not forget that he had himself been in close contact with two of the most important witnesses whom he names within three years of his Conversion. He tells us, indeed, nothing about the nature of the appearances attested by these witnesses, but he regards his own experience on the way to Damascus, in spite of some abnormal features, as the same in kind as theirs, and he uses the list as a whole as the basis of an argument on behalf not merely of personal immortality, but of a resurrection of the dead, which is in some sense corporeal.

On this point I have elsewhere† called attention to Professor Kirsopp Lake's acute analysis of St. Paul's argument in his book on the *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. He points out that St. Paul's conviction that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" is proof positive that he did not believe that the Body of the Risen Lord was of flesh and blood; and from a comparison of the passages in which St. Paul describes the resurrection bodies of Christians, and the transformation of those who will be alive at the "Parousia" he concludes as follows:

"The evidence points to his belief in a kind of transubstantiation of the body from flesh and blood into spirit, and in this sense he not merely held the doctrine of the resurrection of the *body* as distinguished from the resurrection of the *flesh*, but in so far as the flesh was changed into spirit, he may even be said to have held the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, if 'resurrection' be taken to include this process of change."

And again:

"The result, then, of an examination of the passages in which St. Paul speaks of the nature of the resurrection body of Christians points to the fact that he believed that at the resurrec-

**Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 329 f.

†*Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1916, p. 83.

tion of Jesus His Body was changed from one of flesh and blood to one which was spiritual, incorruptible, and immortal, in such a way that there was no trace left of the corruptible body of flesh and blood which had been laid in the grave."

This is, I think, sound and illuminating exegesis, and the conception itself is as remarkable as it is definite. By what steps are we to suppose that St. Paul arrived at it? Unfortunately, Professor Lake is quite certain that St. Paul's view is mistaken. So he goes on to point out an interesting, though not complete, parallel to his thought from what may be a contemporary Jewish writing. His object is to suggest that the doctrine of resurrection, which St. Paul had been taught as a Jew, would have implied the disappearance of the crucified body from the tomb in the event of a real resurrection.

We may readily grant that, if St. Paul held such a doctrine, and it is possible that he did, it would have helped him, after he became convinced of the fact that the Lord was risen, to understand the Christian tradition, with which Professor Lake believes him to have been familiar, that the women found, or thought that they had found, the tomb empty on the Third Day. But surely it is strange that it does not occur to Professor Lake to state that the phenomena of the empty tomb, especially in the form in which St. John records them, of which more anon, would of themselves supply a complete foundation for the very remarkable form that the doctrine of the resurrection body takes in St. Paul. Indeed, it fulfils exactly the conditions of "the specific fact," implied but not stated in 1 Cor. xv., to which Professor Lake refers. It would supply a basis for his doctrine of the resurrection body of Christians, and a date for the Resurrection of the Lord. Room must be found for a word on this second point. The origin of the conviction that the Resurrection took place on "the Third Day" cannot, as Professor Lake admits, be traced to the Old Testament. Nor would it be a necessary inference from the date of the first appearance of the Risen Lord to scattered and fugitive disciples in Galilee. Yet the date was fixed in the tradition which St. Paul received (1 Cor. xv. 2): and it, and it alone, accounts for the peculiar veneration of the first day of the week in Christian circles. I believe, therefore, that though St. Paul does not refer in so many words to the fact of the empty tomb, his argument shows that he believed in it. When we consider the significance of the fact for him both before and after his conversion, it is difficult in the twentieth century to challenge evidence which brought conviction to Saul of Tarsus.

When we pass from St. Paul to the canonical Gospels we come into touch with at least four distinct sources of evidence. St. Mark indeed was probably in the hands of each of the other three. Yet each of them clearly had access to independent sources of informa-

tion. The narrative in the true text of St. Mark is, we must remember, incomplete. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence after v. 8. The closing verses (9-20) in our common text are an Appendix added later, apparently early in the second century. It combines elements, which seem to depend ultimately on St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John, but in a less pure form.

The independence of the authorities is shown by the difficulty of harmonising them. The most serious difference relates to a promised appearance in Galilee. This is foretold by our Lord before His Passion in St. Matthew and St. Mark: and an angel at the Tomb sends a message to the disciples through the women, reminding them of the promise. The fulfilment of the promise is recorded in St. Matthew. It is probable that St. Mark originally contained a parallel account.

The appointment of a rendezvous in Galilee is, of course, quite consistent with earlier appearances in Jerusalem, such as are recorded in St. Luke and St. John. St. Matthew himself records one to the women. The difficulty is that St. Luke in his Gospel carries on the account of the appearance on the first Easter Day without a break to what looks like an account of the Ascension. It is possible, though by no means certain, that when he wrote his Gospel, he thought that the Ascension took place on the same day as the Resurrection, and was unaware of any appearances in Galilee. He certainly records an express command from the Lord bidding the Apostles tarry in Jerusalem. In any case, before he wrote "Acts" he had learnt that the two events were separated by forty days, and the command to tarry in Jerusalem in "Acts" relates expressly to the period between the Ascension and the Day of Pentecost.

The differences in regard to the experiences of the searching party or parties of women at the Tomb are not so serious. They represent a conflict of testimony only too natural in accounts derived from different members of a group in a time of great excitement. There is, indeed, considerable plausibility in the suggestion that the differences may really be due to the fact that there were two distinct parties of women who visited the Tomb, one coming from Bethany, the other with Joanna from Herod's Palace in Jerusalem.

However this may be, all these independent sources of information take for granted that the Tomb was empty. This includes, we must remember, in the case of St. Matthew, the statement, for which he pledges his personal authority, with regard to the current Jewish explanation of the emptiness of the Tomb: and in the case of St. Luke, not only the source from which he drew the account of the visit of the women, but also that from which he drew the account of the walk to Emmaus. It is implied also in the speeches of St. Peter (ii. 31) and St. Paul (xii. 35) which he records in "Acts."

It is really a hopeless task to attempt, as Professor Kirsopp Lake does, to reduce all these authorities to one, and to maintain that the only solid nucleus of fact implied in them, which can survive the acid test of criticism is that a party of women were met by a young man whose innocent attempt to explain to them that they were looking into the wrong tomb frightened them so much that they ran away and said nothing to anyone. For instance, in India, I am given to understand that it is not unusual for a man, when pressed for payment on a bogus claim, instead of challenging the claim directly to put in a forged receipt. But this will hardly justify us in assuming that the Jews invented the lie with regard to the stealing away of the Body by the disciples to explain a groundless claim on the part of the Christians that they had found the Tomb empty.

The account in St. John presents indeed features which will repay more careful examination. It is chiefly remarkable for the stress laid on the position in which the grave-cloths, including the napkin that had been about the head, were found lying in the Tomb. This seems at first merely a picturesque detail, which indeed, like the reference to the water pot left behind by the Samaritan woman, suggests the presence of an eye-witness, but seems to have no further significance. The only moral that I remember having seen drawn from it related to the tidiness of the Ministering Angels.

As soon, however, as attention is drawn to the fact, it becomes clear that the presence of the grave-cloths without the Body is a very remarkable phenomenon. It precludes at once the hypothesis that the Body had been stolen, or, as has been most ingeniously suggested, swallowed up by the earthquake. It equally, I think, precludes the hypothesis of a recovery from a prolonged trance or swoon. Lazarus, we remember, came forth from his tomb bound hand and foot with grave-cloths and his face bound about with a napkin. One suggestion, as far as I know, and only one has been given, which simply and completely accounts for the phenomena. It is the suggestion worked out with great skill by the Rev. Henry Latham, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in *The Risen Master*. It is that at the Resurrection the Lord's Body passed out of the grave-cloths, leaving them undisturbed, just as afterwards it passed freely into and out of a room with closed doors.

Some such interpretation as this "the disciple whom Jesus loved" must have put on the facts, for "he saw and believed." He was, indeed, I fancy, a little ashamed of having needed the assistance of the sight to quicken his faith, for he goes on to say apologetically, "For as yet they knew not the Scripture that He must rise from the dead." A deeper faith, he seems to feel,

would have been able to dispense with ocular demonstration, and to earn a share in the blessing pronounced on those who believed without having seen.

Now if this is, as I cannot doubt, the true interpretation of the scene, sketched in the fewest possible strokes by the Fourth Evangelist, we are, I imagine, shut up to one of two alternatives. Either the writer is a consummate literary artist, who has invented with extraordinary ingenuity, a purely imaginary experience to establish the Church's faith in the Resurrection, and yet has the self-restraint to leave the precise nature of this new corroboration to be divined by his readers, or he is recording in the simplest and most objective form a definite historical experience. And I have no doubt which of these is the simpler hypothesis, if we approach the subject purely as a literary problem.

Such in substance is the New Testament evidence in regard to the Empty Tomb. I must apologise once more for my insistence on this grossly material topic. But I do not see how otherwise to meet what we are told by most competent observers* is the present situation in regard to the inexhaustible problem of miracles. There is, we are told, a greater readiness to admit their possibility, coupled with a keener realisation of the fallibility of human testimony. This is the modern form of Huxley's demand for expert evidence. This is no doubt a perfectly reasonable demand. At the same time the nature of the qualification that we demand of our witnesses must have some relation to the nature of the fact to which they have to testify. And I am still waiting for an answer to the question, which I asked in *Cambridge Theological Essays* (p. 323):

"If the fact to be established is the fact of an empty Tomb, why should we doubt the evidence of eyes that were searching for the Body that had lain in it as the most precious treasure that the world contained?"

We have no time to examine the different narratives of the appearances of the Risen Lord in detail. I must content myself with recalling attention to three points which may fairly be regarded as characteristic of them all.

The first is the delicate accuracy of their psychology. Read, for instance, St. John's account of the appearance to Mary Magdalene, or St. Luke's account of the walk to Emmaus. Let a scholar like Dr. Westcott, in his *Revelation of the Risen Lord*, make the narratives live before you, not by reading anything into them, but simply by helping you to realise what a scholarly grasp of language shows to be already there. Then, again, mark the conflict of emotions in the hearts of one group of disciples after

*F. R. Tennant, *Constructive Church Quarterly*, Dec., 1921, and E. Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 233.

another as they find themselves in the presence of One Who had come back to them from the dead. Is that subtle interplay of doubt and joy and awful reverence consummate art or is it a simple transcript of actual experience?

Take another point. We are familiar enough in these days with communications that purport to come to us from "within the veil." One main objection in the way of taking them seriously springs from the character of their contents. They are so trivial, and so obviously coloured by the medium through which they are transmitted. It is easy to account for them by telepathy, or as an uprush from the sub-conscious of earlier impressions. Test the reported words of the Risen Lord from this point of view. Write them out one by one and study them as a whole. See if these two points do not stand out, with luminous clearness. First, that as a whole they ring true. They bear the stamp, and think what that implies, of genuine utterances of the same Lord who speaks to us in the rest of the Gospels. We find no difficulty in accepting them as they stand (except to a certain extent in the Appendix of St. Mark) as a faithful embodiment of His teaching. And next, they cannot be merely the revival of impressions already received in the course of the previous Ministry. They deal with the new situation created by the Death and the Resurrection. They have a new content, a changed emphasis. They embrace a wider horizon. The words as they stand are a strong support to our belief that the disciples came into real contact with their Lord after He had risen from the dead. They are a substantial guarantee of the truthfulness of the narratives in which they are embedded.

We come lastly to the most difficult element in these narratives, the physical implications. We are apt to suppose that we know more about matter than we do about mind. We are prepared, if reason is shown, to believe that real communications passed from the Risen Lord into the minds of His disciples. We may even accept the account of an appearance to the eye in the old familiar form. But are we not justified in saying that it is a physical impossibility that He can have submitted His risen body to the evidence of touch, or broken bread before them, let alone actually partaken of food before He once more vanished from their sight?

And yet what right have we to dogmatize about physical impossibilities? If in every other respect the evidence fully justifies the demands of the highest reason, are we not bound to suspend our judgment before we throw over its authority here? The whole situation, I repeat, is admittedly unique. It cannot be safe to rule out any of the recorded phenomena simply on the ground that they run counter to our pre-conceptions. No doubt the evidence on this side of the narratives is nothing like so strong as the

evidence for the Empty Tomb. The fact to be attested is in itself super-physical. But I do not see that it adds any fresh difficulty, if we once accept the fact that the Tomb was empty as evidence that a spiritual transformation had passed over the material body that had been laid in it.

It is a truism to say that we do not know what matter in itself is. The whole relation of mind and matter baffles imagination: but we are being forced to recognise not only that the physical organism reacts on the mind, but also that the physical processes of our bodies can be directly affected and controlled by our psychical or spiritual condition. If that is true even now, is it incredible that after death the spirit of man may attain to perfect sovereignty over the organism, whatever may be its essential nature, in and through which he has developed his distinctive personality? May it not be that the First-begotten from the dead has given us in these strange ways such light on this coming sovereignty as with our limited powers we are in this life able to receive?

DISCUSSION.

Dr. SCHOFIELD, after thanking Canon Murray for his most excellent paper, pointed out that it had been said that the Resurrection of Jesus Christ was at the same time the most incredible event in the world's history, and the best established fact. With the first statement few would agree who recognised our Lord's Deity; while most who have studied the evidence will endorse the latter.

I am glad on p. 146 the Canon has called attention to the widespread theory of the day respecting "the husk and kernel," said to be a revival of Rosicrucian teaching. This represents that while the miraculous stories of the New Testament—the Virgin's Birth, the Resurrection of our Lord, Lazarus and others—are but the husk, and can be thrown away, we must never throw away the great spiritual truths these allegories teach. In short, that these facts in the Gospels are fiction, though they may contain valuable truth. This specious error is widely spread in London to-day.

With regard to Professor Kirsopp Lake's remarks about flesh and blood, we do well to remember S. Paul's statements in 1 Cor. 15, "It is sown a natural body (that is, one in whom the blood is the life), it is raised a spiritual body." This is entirely different from a spirit. The latter, the Lord says, has not flesh and bones "*as ye see Me have.*" Not, be it remarked, "flesh and blood," but "flesh and bones"; for in this body the spirit is the life. On p. 149 I must call attention to a most important sentence of the Canon's: "It (the Resurrection on the third day), and it alone, accounts for the peculiar veneration of the first day of the week

in Christian circles" (and we may add, in the world's history). This fact is so remarkable and important that I should like to elaborate it a little.

Supposing (in the manner of Mr. Wells) an inhabitant of Mars were to arrive here to look into our manners and customs, and on Sunday enquired into the meaning of the crowds he would see going to our religious buildings, combined with the closing of all our offices and shops.

He would be told that the first day of the week was the general holy day. Asking if it had always been so, he would be told "No; that the last day of the week had been so kept for thousands of years." In answer to further enquiries, he would learn that the change took place at the Christian era because Christ was alleged to have arisen from His grave upon that day. The surprise he would naturally express on the power of such a "fable" to alter a sacred day would be deepened when he learned that the central ceremonial of the day was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in memory of his death.

"Then He died on that day?"

"No, He died on the Friday."

"Then He instituted this memorial on that day?"

"No, that was on the Thursday."

"Well then, it was the sacred day at that time?"

"No, that was on the Saturday."

And thus he would discover that the only event in the world that was deliberately commemorated (for centuries) on the day it DID NOT happen was Christ's death, and that the only reason for flying in the face of all custom was the belief that a greater event than even the death on the Cross took place on the first day of the week.

The only conclusion possible to draw in the face of these facts (quite apart from Scripture statements of its truth) is that the Resurrection is a fact. I consider the above picture, though very roughly drawn, a good illustration of the testimony to Christ's rising on the third day that can be drawn from the fact of Sunday, and the Lord's Supper being taken on that day.

Rev. J. J. B. GOLES quite agreed with the remarks of Dr. Schofield as to the absence of blood in the Lord's resurrection body. In 1 Cor. xv. 45 we read, "The first man, Adam, was made a living soul; the last Adam, a quickening spirit." This referred to the risen body of the Lord Jesus, and not, as is generally supposed, to His Deity, as in St. John v. 21. This energising vital power had taken the place of blood (see St. John xix. 34).

Lieut.-Colonel G. MACKINLAY said:—I thank Dr. Murray warmly for the tenor of his able paper immediately expressed in his opening words, "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ is the central event of

human history." We are told in 1 Cor. xv. 20 (R.V), "Now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those that are asleep."

What were the first fruits? They were early produce offered to Jehovah on the morrow of the Sabbath after the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 10-11). Now our Lord died at a feast of Passover. His Resurrection synchronised with the date of the waving of the first fruits, as both events took place on the morrow of the Sabbath after the Passover. Can it therefore be admitted with Professor Lake and Dr. Murray (see page 149) that no indication is given in the Old Testament that the Resurrection took place on the third day after the Crucifixion (see also Jonah i. 17 and Matt. xii. 40)?

Space prevents allusion to more than a very little of the evidences of the Resurrection in the Gospels, but we may notice very briefly the emphatic testimony of St. Luke, given (according to his custom) by three-fold repetition of miracles of raising from the dead by our Lord.

1. The *only* son of the widow of Nain.
2. The *only* daughter of Jairus.
3. The raising up from a living death of the demoniac, just after the Transfiguration, who was an *only* child.

We are surely very pointedly reminded of the loved *only* Son of the Father raised up from the dead by the power of God. There are many incidental touches which confirm us in this conclusion. We have only room for the following:—

The word *monogenes*, translated in each case *only* (born), is not employed again by St. Luke; but in other parts of the New Testament it always indicates the Lord Jesus Christ, except in Heb. xi. 17, where it refers to Isaac, alluded to as a type of Christ. *Monogenes* is used in the Septuagint as the equivalent of the Hebrew word *yachid* in Ps. xxii. 20, "Deliver . . . My Darling from the power of the dog," a word undoubtedly referring to our Lord Jesus Christ.

All the evangelists record direct prophecies by our Lord of his coming death.

Lieut.-Colonel MOLONY pointed out that a very strong line of evidence as regards the empty tomb is deducible from Matthew xxviii. 15.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS classed himself with those sometimes called unbelieving believers, saying he would have been a rank atheist had he not been a Christian. In driving through the cemetery of a large Lancashire town last week, which he was told contained a larger population of dead than those living in the town, and realizing that even one of our London cemeteries contained near ten millions of dead, it seemed hard to believe that the greater part of this vast number of dead (for he was assured that the majority of the human race would benefit by the work of Christ)

would be raised. This showed the immense importance of the fact of Christ's Resurrection.

If fifty or more years ago he had told that meeting that he had that afternoon been conversing with someone in South Wales, he would have been regarded as romancing, but now any stupid person would make and another stupid person could use a telephone. He remembered one connected with the making of the first telephone telling him the thrill with which he heard for the first time the human voice transmitted along the wire; but when once the original telephone worked all the rest was a mere matter of detail. So with the Resurrection of Christ. If God once broke the power of death by raising Him, He could easily raise millions, as the Apostle Paul said to Agrippa, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you if God should raise the dead?" The moment we bring God into the difficulty, it disappears.

As regards the present implications that Christ's Resurrection were intended to have for us, he judged that it set all our hopes, whether for ourselves or for humanity, upon a new basis, and instanced two remarkable utterances of S. Paul when in prison and under most depressing conditions. The first was in Philippians iii. 11, where he wrote of the one goal before him, as being his attainment of the Resurrection, that is from among the dead, no matter by what means, even a martyr's death, that he reached it. The other was in his last letter to Timothy (chap. ii. 8), wherein he exhorted him to "Remember Jesus Christ raised from the dead according to my Gospel," an exhortation we would do well to give heed to for ourselves.

Mr. W. HOSTE said:—I think the value of the paper we have listened to consists not only in its positive advocacy, but in the light it throws on the weakness of our opponents' arguments, and all the more for the impartiality with which we have heard them stated to-day. The theory that the women found the grave empty, only because they went to the wrong one, might have had strength had our Lord been buried in a cemetery instead of a garden, in which John tells us there was "*a new sepulchre.*" In this sepulchre these very women had seen Him laid barely three days before. Dean Rashdall must not expect us to follow him in rejecting well attested evidence simply because unusual and undreamt-of in our philosophy, otherwise the negro chief was right in scouting the idea of solid water. The testimony of Dr. Arnold is well-known and eloquent. "I have been used for many years to study the history of other times and to examine and weigh the evidence of those who have written about them, and I know of no fact in the history of mankind which is proved by better and fuller evidence of every sort, to the understanding of a fair enquirer, than the great sign which God has given us, that Christ died and rose again from the dead."

As for what Dr. Murray says on p. 145, are we to be ready to reconsider our premises, and submit the most sacred matters of our life to impartial investigation, to keep up our reputation for open-mindedness, and in the cant phrase of the day, "to follow the truth at any cost," which not seldom means, I fear, "giving up the truth at very small cost"? Are the legitimacy of the King, one's father's word, one's mother's character, and still less the resurrection of our Lord, to be subjects on which, at the bidding of the first unbeliever, I am to profess an open mind? The ocular and tangible proofs which satisfied large numbers of our Lord's disciples, naturally as sceptical as ourselves, may well satisfy us. The Lord was at pains to prove the reality of his corporeal Resurrection. "Handle Me and see for a spirit hath not flesh and blood as ye see Me have." His body was the same—it bore the marks of Calvary, yet not the same, real and tangible, but possessed of new spiritual properties. One hesitates even to attempt to explain, but may we not illustrate the wonderful change of the same body into a new body, by allotropy, the well-known property of certain substances of existing under different modifications, distinct in their physical and chemical properties? Thus, for instance, carbon exists in octahedral form of extreme hardness as the diamond, in hexagonal form of moderate hardness as graphite, and again as lampblack. A piece of yellow phosphorus heated under pressure is wholly changed into red phosphorus, with very modified properties. May not flesh occur in the two conditions—natural and spiritual.

I would close with the testimony of a great statesman and physicist, the late Lord Salisbury: "To me the central point is the Resurrection of Christ, which, I believe. Firstly, because it is testified by men who had every opportunity of seeing and knowing, and whose voracity was tested by the most tremendous trials . . . during long lives. Secondly, because of the marvellous effect it had upon the world. As a moral phenomenon, the spread and mastery of Christianity is without a parallel. I can no more believe that colossal moral effects lasting for 2,000 years can be without cause, than I can believe that the various motions of the magnet are without a cause, though I cannot wholly explain them."

Rev. F. E. MARSH said:—There are three facts which proclaim the Resurrection a fact, and these are: The clothes as found in the sepulchre; the testimonies of those who saw Him alive; and the difference it made in the lives of those who saw Him. Let us ponder the first. When Peter and John came to the sepulchre, one thing which specially impressed them was "the linen clothes lying." Mark, not the empty tomb. John first "saw the linen clothes lying," but he did not enter the tomb first. Peter went into the tomb first, and "seeth the linen clothes lie"; then John went in, and he "saw and believed." What was it which specially impressed John? The fact of the tomb being empty certainly did; but more

than this, the clothes were lying as if they still enclosed the body of Christ. He, being raised, would naturally leave the clothes behind. The wrappings being there, could not make any impression, except there was something very peculiar about them. I believe there was something peculiar about the clothes. It seems to me that the grave clothes were lying as they had been in their convolutions round Christ's body. The clothes had never been unwrapped, but they were as if they still enclosed the body. Just as the chrysalis of the butterfly, after the butterfly has emerged from the case, the case retains the form of the chrysalis, although the insect has gone from it. The only difference being, the butterfly comes out of the end of the case, while with regard to Christ, He would pass through the clothes without disturbing them, as He passed through the locked doors of the Upper Room afterwards.

The custom of the East was not to put a shroud on a dead body, but to swathe it round and round with bands, as Dean Alford says: "The word rendered grave clothes is explained to mean a sort of band or tow, used to swathe infants." When we remember this, the statement is the more impressive, for the clothes were lying as if they enclosed the body of Jesus, but He was not within them. The word rendered "lying and lie," in John xx. 5, 6, is twice rendered "set" in the same gospel, (ii. 6, xix. 29) in speaking of vessels set in particular places. It is also used of a city which "lieth" foursquare in Rev. cxxi. 16. In each case there is the thought of order, deliberate action, and fixedness.

The MASTER OF SELWYN, in conclusion, thanked the members for their reception of his paper. It had been so appreciated that he had no criticisms to which to reply.

643rd ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday
May 15th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

LIEUT.-COLONEL F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the Hon. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following: As Member, from Associate, Major H. Pelham Burn, and as Associates, the Rev. Tydeman Chilvers, and the Honourable Mrs. Francis Bridgeman.

The Chairman then introduced the Rev. E. L. Langston, M.A., and invited him to read his paper on "The Times of the Gentiles in relation to the End of the Age."

THE TIMES OF THE GENTILES. IN RELATION TO THE END OF THE AGE. BY THE REV. E. L. LANGSTON, M.A.

"The times of the Gentiles" is a definite period in the history of the world, and to understand its main features we must for a moment see it in its right setting. God has a plan for the world, and that plan is world redemption; therefore, when writing a paper on "the times of the Gentiles in relation to the End of the Age," we must first briefly see it in relation to other Ages.

The history of the world may be broken up into seven distinct Ages, and it must be remembered that the immediate purpose and calling of God is not the same in all ages. He has not dealt with men on one line alone, but in various methods and manners has He tested man, and each dispensation is characteristic, being the special dealing of God in that age, and a change in the mode of God's dealing makes change in the dispensation, and this fact, if lost sight of, will make many words in Scripture seem contradictory; but, to use the words of St. Augustine, "distinguish the dispensations and the words will agree."

The First Age

being the period when Adam and Eve, our first parents, were created, and lived in the Garden of Eden, they were not sinful, neither were they holy, for they had not the knowledge of sin and evil, but they were innocent. In the form of a serpent is

seen the personification of evil, and as a result of the Fall came the consciousness of good and evil: Adam and Eve were no longer innocent, but they had a conscience, and that conscience convicted them of shame and guilt. The guilty one in the form of a serpent and the man and the woman are arraigned before God: the serpent is dealt with first. His doom is sealed. He will bruise the seed of the woman (not of the man), and whose Seed he shall bruise shall in turn bruise his head. Thus is given the great promise of deliverance from the power of sin and evil. No sooner does man fall than God sets Himself to rescue man from the doom under which he has placed himself. But man has to learn several lessons before world redemption is effected.

1. The holiness of God.

2. The sinfulness of sin.

3. The utter helpless and hopeless condition of man in himself to save himself: and throughout succeeding ages these lessons in various ways are consistently taught. There is only one way of salvation, and that is through the Seed of the woman, "the Second Adam." Each succeeding age reveals these great truths in one form or another.

The Second Age.

The first trial of man ended in utter failure, and judgment closes the dispensation of innocence. Man is now without law and without government; there is no law from God and no law between men—conscience is his only mentor. There was no law from Adam to Moses, "yet sin was in the world." Consequently death reigned, and this age was pre-eminently an age of murders, violence, and unrestrained sin. Gen. vi. 5, "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth . . . and it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth." Man left to himself goes from bad to worse. Gen. vi. 12, "God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth." Thus this age had to be terminated by God through the Flood.

The Third Age.

This dispensation extended from the Flood to the call of Abraham. Man had been tested, first in innocence, then by conscience without government or law, and in each case had lamentably failed, and judgment ended those dispensations. Government is now put into man's hands. God said to Noah, "The fear of you . . . and the dread of you shall be upon all; into your hands are they delivered." Gen. ix. 6, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Capital punishment for murder is instituted; a law of government amongst

men that has never since been abrogated. Thus we see the sword put into man's hands for the punishment of evildoers and the subjugation of brute creation. Evil will abound, but let those in power keep it down as best they can. Every soul was in this way subject to higher powers. For the first time the principle of magisterial rule is introduced. In spite of all this provision, this age, like all the preceding ages, ended in failure; evil developed, and man endeavoured to build a city and a tower with the proud boast, Gen. xi. 4, "Let us make us a name," and thus came into being Babel, the city of revolt against God, which God judged.

The Fourth Age.

Hitherto in preceding ages individuals were prominent, but now with the division of the world as a result of the dispersion of men from Babel, God now chooses a man from amongst men, and here is the commencement of that people who were destined to hold so prominent and important a place in God's dealings with men, and with the earth. For the first time an entirely new feature is introduced: a nation now becomes the central object of God's blessing and care, from whom is to spring the world Redeemer, the Seed of the woman, and also the seed of Abraham. It is of the utmost importance to note this momentous epoch, and the place which the descendants of Abraham have in God's plans for world redemption. This great change occurs chronologically just half-way between the Creation and the predicted birth of the Messiah, the Seed of the woman. So that, speaking in round figures, God dealt for 2,000 years with mankind in general; then for 2,000 years with the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel, and possibly for about another 2,000 years with the Church. Thus ends the age of Abraham, also in failure; for even in this age the patriarchs from Abraham to Moses nearly all of them failed. But in spite of their failure, God's unconditional covenants remain the same; their failure did not affect the purposes of God. God promised to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Gen. xv. 18, And the centre of world blessing shall be from "the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." All the promises of this period converge upon the coming Messiah, the seed of Abraham, the seed of the woman.

The Fifth Age.

The age of Moses or of the Law. Throughout this age God reveals to man details, through type and prophecy, of the coming of world redemption and the establishment of His kingdom upon the earth. But Israel has to learn by the giving of the Law, owing to the holiness of God and the sinfulness of sin, that in themselves

they cannot keep the law of God; and in a very peculiar sense God tested them throughout this age, by the Law. But in spite of the fact that they had many privileges and glorious manifestations of God and His power, Israel failed; and one great feature is brought out in God's dealings with them, and that is, God's ideal kingdom is an absolute monarchy, its King a despotic ruler, responsible to Him alone. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3-4, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth; even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain." Where was such a ruler to be found? Saul, David, Solomon, all failed. Israel was being taught through that age that God's ideal king is the coming Messiah, the seed of the woman, the seed of Abraham, and now the seed of David, and as son of David, He is to sit upon David's throne to manifest an ideal kingship. Solomon was endued with gifts of wisdom and statesmanship above the ordinary, and yet, in spite of that fact, he sinned as man always does, even under most privileged circumstances. Consequently, after Solomon's death the kingdom was divided, and the kings of both Judah and Israel failed miserably, and there developed national apostasy, and God's purposes for Israel for the time were thwarted, and had to be postponed.

The Sixth Age.

Now we come to the "times of the Gentiles," and it is essential that we should realise the peculiar features of this period. It was God's purpose that Israel the nation should be first, and the Gentile nations second; but now for a period that it is important to notice Israel becomes second and the Gentile nations first; and we see the domination of the Gentiles during the setting aside of Israel.

It began with Nebuchadnezzar and the captivity of Judah, and has continued ever since, and will terminate only with the Second Advent of Christ, the King of Israel. When the domination was transferred to the Gentiles, it was God's purpose that one nation should have the supremacy over the rest. This was first delegated to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon; then to Cyrus, the Medo-Persian, then to Alexander the Grecian; and then to the Cæsars of Rome. The details of the four preceding empires do not concern us at present; we want now to confine our attention to the last stages of Gentile domination. The details of this fourth world empire are given to us in Daniel ii. and vii. Daniel ii. 40 says this great empire shall be "strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise."

Here we see a foreshadowing of the vast superiority of the

Empire of Rome over either Greece, Medo-Persian, or the Babylonian Empires, but we note that in the last stages of this strong mighty empire there is to be an element of instability and weakness, and we are not left in doubt as to what that weakness really is, for Daniel ii. 41 reveals the cause of the trouble.

Dan. ii. 41, "And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes part of potter's clay and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay."

What is this clay? What does it typify? The gold representing Babylon stands for absolute sovereignty residing in the absolute will of the monarch. The silver and the brass showed the limitations of the monarchy; first, by the hereditary aristocracy, and then by the great men of the kingdom and the military party. The further descent in iron showed the further limitations of the monarchy by the power of the people. Therefore the brittle clay must be something which lessens the power of government still more. Now what can this clay mean but the "demos," the power of the people seen in the democracy? The type is a very expressive one, for what is more brittle than burned clay? And what is more fickle than Vox Populi? Another evidence of this is seen in the time of the appearance of the clay; it is not in evidence until it appears in the feet period of the vision of "the times of the Gentiles." Now this is exactly in accord with the solid facts of history. The first appearance of the clay principle possibly coincided with the great French revolution, at the close of the eighteenth century. There had been many a revolution in preceding centuries, but they had been merely movements on the part of the people to dethrone a wicked or tyrannical king, with a view to enthroning a much better man, which, of course, they did not always succeed in doing. But the French revolution had characteristics about it that no preceding revolution ever had. It was a deliberate attempt by the people to dethrone monarchy and seize the sovereignty for themselves. The monarch claimed to rule by Divine right, which had been the attitude of the Gentile kings ever since the days of Nebuchadnezzar till the overthrow of German and Russian monarchies; our King to-day claims to rule by Divine right. Not only did the French revolution seek to dethrone monarchy; but it had a more far-reaching, ambitious policy, and that was to dethrone Deity. It was a revolt against the Divine Ruler as well as against the earthly ruler. They denied the existence of God and refused to worship Him.

but set up a goddess of Reason, and placed as her representative an evil-living woman on the altar of Notre Dame. They endeavoured to do away with one day's rest in seven, and substituted in its place one day in ten. The French revolutionists naturally sought to destroy the Bible; Voltaire, who fiercely attacked the Scriptures, boasted that in a hundred years time the Bible would be a forgotten Book; but the very house in which Voltaire passed away has been used as a publishing house from which the Bible has been sent forth to bring light and joy into many a French home.

Ever since the days of the French revolution these characteristics which were so strong then have been working like leaven through the masses of the people who live in the area, or have sprung from the area of the Old Roman Empire, viz., the Middle and South of Europe, and the Near East. But let us not forget, as we study the "Times of the Gentiles." In Daniel ii. we are distinctly taught that the iron and the clay will be manifested and exist side by side right up to the end, and will not mix. So there will be the iron of monarchy and authority alongside of democratic principles—the one always opposed to the other, to the very end of the Gentile period.

Revival of the Roman Empire and the Last Days.

A few years ago such a possibility seemed improbable; but the recent War has changed the whole political outlook of Europe and the Near East; and there has come into being a League of Nations which may easily become the beginning of the revival of the ancient Roman Empire.

Prophecy foreshadows that a remarkable personality must come to the fore, a leader of nations and men, and take the position of Chairman or President of the future League of Nations. Both the books of Daniel and Revelation predict such a personality to rise in the last days.

Nebuchadnezzar had the vision of the whole of the Gentile world-powers in the form of an image of man, made of gold, silver, brass and iron, and whose feet consisted of iron and clay. Daniel vii. is an enlargement of Daniel ii., and a close study of these two chapters, with Daniel xi., is most important in the light of modern politics in connection with the League of Nations, the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, and the new kingdoms of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Every politician, whether Christian or not, should make a close study of these chapters. I would now draw attention to some statements in Daniel vii. concerning the last of these four Gentile empires. Daniel vii. 2, "I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea diverse one from another." The prophet saw a great storm at sea, and he also saw what caused that storm.

"The sea" in prophecy is always a type of the nations of the world, and the storm on the sea shows that there are various disturbing influences, overruled by God, for the accomplishing of His purposes. You will want to know what evidence I have for interpreting "the sea" in this way.

We are told in Revelation xvii. 25, "The waters which thou sawest . . . are peoples and nations and tongues," and in Isaiah xvii. 12, "Woe to the multitude of many people which make a noise like the noise of the seas." So Daniel saw the waters stirred to a mighty storm. Rising out of the chaos he saw four beasts, apparently one following the other. The first three beasts—the lion representing Babylon, the bear representing Medo-Persia, the leopard representing Greece; and we want to give our special attention to the fourth beast, for that refers to the Roman Empire and corresponds with the legs of iron in the vision of Daniel vii. 7, 8, "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold there came a little horn before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots, and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."

All students of the Roman Empire will recognise this as an exact image of Rome, resistless in strength, relentless, pitiless, respecting nothing and appropriating everything. Before explaining what these horns and the little horn signify, let us read on, and remember that the words we are about to consider deal with the last days of the Gentile period, the very days in which we are now living (Daniel vii. 9-12). "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from him, thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand stood before him, the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then because of the great words which the horn spake. I beheld even till the beast was slain and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time." Then what happens? The judgment was set, and the books were opened. Now what judgment is this? And who is to be judged? It is living kings and nations that are judged. Notice the beast with its horns, and the little horn was not slain till after the thrones were set. A close study of this vision is most important, for it contains an outline of events

that happen right up to the end of the Age. These ten horns are only seen in the latter stage of the Beast's history. What follows the slaying of the beast? Daniel vii. 13, 14, "I saw in the night visions, and behold One like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion and glory, and a kingdom that all peoples, nations and languages should serve Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Here, then, we have a picture of the investiture of Jesus Christ as King of kings and Lord of lords. Thus sin and evil are judged, punished and dethroned, and Christ reigns. Now Daniel, when this vision was revealed, was perfectly mystified as to its meaning. So in verses 16-22 he asks for an explanation. "I came near unto one of them that stood by and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me to know the interpretation of the things. These great beasts, which are four, are four kings which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron and of brass which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them. Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." His curiosity was aroused especially with regard to the fourth beast and his horn. And he is told in verse 23, "Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns are ten kings, that shall arise; and another shall rise after them, and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High and think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." Now these ten horns on the beast correspond to the ten toes of Daniel ii.; they are ten kings. The Roman Empire must, therefore, one day be revived politically and become a great world power, in which will be manifested ten kings.

But some may say, "Surely it is impossible for the ancient

Roman Empire to be revived; for did not Gibbon say that the Roman Empire came to an end in A.D. 476? What! after all these years shall it be revived? Rev. xvii. 8 is rather interesting in the light of this question, and may help us to understand what to some is a great difficulty. "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition." The beast here is generally thought to refer to the Roman Empire that "was, and is not." That is to say, came to an end in A.D. 476; and here is a distinct prediction that it shall ascend out of the bottomless pit. In other words, the coming into being of the Roman Empire again will be overruled and directed by powers of evil, rather than by powers of good; and it may be that all the conferences held in connection with the League of Nations are under the powers of darkness, and "the god of this Age" is directing, to bring his plans and purposes to a head. Thus we may see, coming to the front in connection with the League of Nations very shortly, a remarkable and unique personality: he which is typified in Daniel vii., and whose remarkable personality is described in Revelation xiii., who is evidently a great world-ruler. In Rev. xiii. 1, "I . . . saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy." This, therefore, is a remarkable king, or ruler over some confederated kingdom or empire within the sphere of the ancient Roman Empire.

In symbolical language we are told that this coming king, or president, is to have all the inherent and dominant qualities that were manifested in Babylon, Medo-Persia, and Greece. Prophecy reveals to us the fact that this world leader will enter into a covenant with the Jews, and after a period of three and a half years will break that covenant, and for a further three and a half years will persecute the Jews badly. Daniel ix. 27, "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate"; and during that period of the second of the three and a half years both the Jews and Jerusalem will be the objects of persecution and hatred. These predictions are all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the League of Nations has already entered into a covenant with regard to the Jews and Palestine, and that covenant is already a cause of trouble and anxiety, and may have to be either modified or altered in the near future; the coming leader of the League of Nations may therefore have to enter into another covenant with the Jews and Palestine which may be the very covenant referred to in Daniel ix.

At any rate it is certain that the Jews are to play a very important part in the politics of the world; and throughout the whole of Christendom we see Jews coming to the front as never before in their history—in every phase of life, whether it is in the realm of law, politics, art, science, the Press, banking, the world of diplomacy, wherever intellect is in demand there the Jew excels, and is exerting an influence far out of proportion to their numbers in the world. The Jewish question right up to the Second Advent of Christ is to be at the bottom of all world unrest, and will eventually lead to the last great war—Armageddon.

Is there to be another War?

That there must be another war, all devout students of prophecy will agree. The question is, how is it to arise, and when and where will the war be waged?

The Bible leaves us in no doubt with regard to these matters. There are very definite signs and indications in the world to-day which seem to prepare the way for such an awful catastrophe. None of us can say the world is anything like at rest; we are only just settling down after the great war of 1914-1918. That war changed the whole map of Europe and the Near East, and has altered the politics of the world. That war, if we read prophecy aright is only a preparation for tremendous developments. The Scriptures tell us that there are likely to be two Leagues of Nations. One comprising the countries existing north of Palestine, and the other comprising the nations of the old Roman empire.

The predictions we are about to consider are of the utmost importance in the light of modern political developments. I would very respectfully urge that when we read the following chapters we shall remember the prophetic axiom that the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy is to be guided by the manner of the fulfilment of fulfilled prophecy. The Bible contains predictions of events that happened hundreds and thousands of years after they were predicted, and in each case they were fulfilled literally and minutely. e.g., the scattering of Israel as recorded in Leviticus xxvi. and Deut. xxviii., the prophecies concerning the first Advent of Christ, His birth, life, ministry, and death. All these prophecies were fulfilled in every detail: therefore we are to expect just as literal a fulfilment with regard to the prophecies concerning the Second Advent of Christ and the Great War, that is to end the "times of the Gentiles" and usher in the Messiah, which are predicted in such remarkable detail.

This study is all the more thrilling in the light of the entente between Germany and Russia recently signed and sealed at Genoa.

Bible Predictions with regard to the next Great War.

1. There are to be two Leagues of Nations. One comprising nations of the north of Europe, with Persia and Abyssinia; the other comprising nations of the middle and south of Europe, within the area of the ancient Roman Empire.

2. The cause of the next war will be Palestine and the Jews.

3. The scene of the next great war will be Palestine and Jerusalem.

4. The war will be called Armageddon.

When is the Northern League of Nations to come into being? A study of Ezekiel xxxviii. and xxxix. leaves us in no doubt on this point. Ezekiel xxxviii. 8, "After many day . . . in the latter years" v. 16, "In the latter days." N.B.—These are unfulfilled prophecies. *What is the Northern League of Nations going to do?* Ezekiel xxxviii. v. 10, "Thus saith the Lord God: It shall come to pass in that day that things shall come into thy mind, and thou shalt devise an evil device. And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwall'd villages; I will go to them that are at quiet, that dwell securely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates. To take the spoil and to take the prey; to turn thine hand against the waste places that are now inhabited, and against the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods that dwell in the middle of the earth."

What does *Scripture predict with regard to the plan of campaign of the Northern League of Nations?* Ezekiel xxxviii. 1 and following, "And the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Son of man, set thy face toward Gog, of the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh Meshech, and Tubal, and prophesy against him. And say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, O Gog, prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal. And I will turn thee about and put hooks into thy jaws and I will bring thee forth, and all thine army, horses and horsemen, all of them clothed in full armour, a great company, with shield and buckler, all of them handling swords: Persia, Cush and Put with them, all of them with shield and helmet: Gomer and all his hordes, the house of Togarmah in the uttermost parts of the north, and all his hordes: even many people with thee." Who are these two latter? Genesis x. tells us that Gomer is the son of Japheth, and probably the forefather of the Teutonic races. Hebrew words have no vowels, and in Hebrew, G.M.R. being the root letters of both Germany as well as Gomer (vide Rev. C. H. Titterton's book on "Armageddon"). Togarmah is the son of Gomer, geographically connected with Armenia, possibly the forefather of the Turcoman, or Turk. The Northern League of Nations is to comprise, therefore, of Russia, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Abyssinia, and part of the Sudan. Ezekiel xxxviii. 14 reveals how the northern nations will act. "Therefore, son of man, prophesy and

say unto Gog, Thus saith the Lord God, In that day when my people Israel dwelleth securely shalt thou not know it? And thou shalt come from thy place out of the uttermost part of the north, thou, and many peoples with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company and a mighty army. And thou shalt come up against my people Israel, as a cloud to cover the land. It shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring thee against my land."

The Fate of the Northern Army.

Ezekiel xxxviii. 18, "And it shall come to pass in that day when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, that my fury shall come up into my nostrils. For in my jealousy and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken, Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking (will it be an earthquake?) in the land of Israel. So that the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the field, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth, shall shake at my presence, and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground."

Further predictions are given to us. Ezekiel xxxix. 1 and 4 and 12, "And thou son of man prophesy against Gog and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee O Gog, prince of Rosh; Meshech and Tubal. And I will turn thee about and will lead thee on, and will cause thee to come up from the uttermost parts of the north, and I will bring thee upon the mountains of Israel. . . . Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of Israel, thou and all thy hordes, and the people that are with thee, I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field to be devoured. V. 12, And seven months shall the house of Israel be burying of them, that they may cleanse the land."

What will be the ultimate outcome of Armageddon?

The coming of the Messiah as King of Kings and Lord of Lords, of the seed of Abraham, of the seed of the woman, David's Greater Son. Ezekiel xxxix. 21, 26, 29, "And I will set my glory among the nations, and all the nations shall see my judgment that I have executed and my hand that I have laid upon them." V. 26, "And they shall bear their shame and all their trespasses whereby they have trespassed against me, when they shall dwell securely in the land and none shall make them afraid." V. 29, "Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel saith the Lord God."

All this is in beautiful accord with the prophecy of Zechariah xiv. 1-5, "Behold a day of the Lord cometh, when my spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee. For I will gather all nations

against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken and the houses rifled, and the women ravished, and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city. Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against those nations, as when He fought in the day of battle. And His feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward to east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley, and half the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south." Thus we see Gentile thrones and dominations overthrown in the coming of the long-expected Messiah, who will be acknowledged by all Israel as the One whom they pierced, and the kingdoms of the earth shall be the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ.

Have we any indication as to what year the "times of the Gentiles" come to an end, and when the Lord Jesus is likely to come again? Daniel gives us dates—do they mean anything to us? In Daniel xii. 10 he is informed that a day shall come when "the wise shall understand" the significance of these dates. When, then, are these figures likely to be understood? Surely these dates are to be understood in the closing days of this age just immediately preceding the Second Advent of Christ. Practically everybody will agree that the "times of the Gentiles" began about 587 B.C., when the Temple was burned and the last king, Zedekiah, was led away into exile. The length of the period of the "times of the Gentiles" is given to us in Leviticus xxvi. 18, 21, 24, 28, "I will punish you seven times more for your sins. I will bring seven times more plagues upon you. . . . I will punish you yet seven times for your sins. . . . I will chastise you seven times for your sins." A "time" is equal to the Jewish calendar of 360 days. In Daniel vii. 25, we have the oft-repeated phrase, "a time and times and the dividing of time." This is equal to 1,260 days. Thus the "seven times" of Israel's punishment are 360 by 7; 2,520 prophetic days. Numbers xiii. 33-34, "And your children shall be wanderers in the wilderness forty years and shall bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. After the number of the days in which ye spied out the land, even forty days, *for every day a year*, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my alienation." These verses tell us that a "day" of Israel's punishment equals a year. The same year "day" is to be found in the sixty-nine weeks of Messiah, the Prince, in Daniel ix. 25. These 69 weeks multiplied by 7 equal 483 prophetic days, which was the exact number of years from Artaxerxes decree (Neh. ii. 5) to the Crucifixion; or 2,520 days of Israel's punishment equals 2,520 solar years. If we add 2,520 to 587 B.C. this conducts us to A.D. 1934. 587 B.C. was the year of

2 Kings xxv. 8, 9, " Now in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came Nabuzaradan, the captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem. And he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, even every great house burnt he with fire."

The late Bishop Moule of Durham, who could scarcely be called a rash man, declared in an address at Cannon Street Hotel just before he died that he believed that we were now near the closing days of this age, and that the Lord Jesus Christ was likely to come to this earth some time before 1934. He would not—neither would I—be dogmatic as to this date: yet we must all believe that Daniel's figures must have some significance.

Personally, I believe " the rapture of the saints " will take place some time before the Lord Jesus comes to this earth. Many people believe there will be a period of seven years between " the rapture of the saints " and the Second Coming of Christ, and if this is so we must now be on the very verge of " the rapture of the saints." The Lord Jesus may appear " in the air " for His saints before 1927. In presenting these conclusions with regard to the years 1927 and 1934 as being the dates for the Rapture of the Saints and the close of " the times of the Gentiles," I would be as cautious as possible. Our Lord definitely forewarned us " of that day and hour knoweth no man." I have, therefore, only brought this question to the fore that we may realise the solemnity of the days in which we live, and that we seem to be living in the very last days. Surely under these circumstances it behoves us to be waiting, watching, and working for the coming of the Lord Jesus, that we may be ready at any moment to appear before Him.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. J. J. B. Coles pointed out that the ordinary explanation of the " Times of the Gentiles " was not supported by a true rendering of the Greek of St. Luke xxi. 24. Moreover, a reference to Rev. xi. 2 showed that there would be a *future* treading down by Gentiles of the Holy City. How then could present events in the Near East be brought forward to prove that the " Times of the Gentiles " are now over?

The expression " the revival of the *Roman* Empire " is not found in Holy Scripture, and is a misleading assumption. Are not North and South America in the world to-day?

Mr. Theodore Roberts found himself in considerable disagreement with the Lecturer, but in agreement with the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, save as to the future world empire being Jewish, a suggestion

which he would like to consider. He had thought that the world-ruler, Anti-Christ, would be a Jew by birth but a Roman or Italian by nationality, just as the present Governor of Palestine was an Englishman yet of Jewish race. He did not think the "Gentile seasons" was as definite a period as the Lecturer made out, and he could not accept his year-day theory.

He did not expect literal fulfilment of the details of prophecy, because it was not intended to give information as to the future, but the language used must be such as would be understood by those to whom it was addressed, in order that it might have a present moral effect upon them, and so we had a prediction of "swords" being turned into ploughshares and "spears" into pruning-hooks, as the present instruments of warfare were then unknown.

He thought it was clear that the beasts of Daniel VII. could not include Babylon, as the interpretation of the dream stated they were kings which would in the future arise, and that interpretation was dated in the reign of the last king of Babylon. He believed the first three beasts represented Israel, Egypt (or the king of the south), and Assyria (or the king of the north), the three nations classed together in Isaiah xix. 23-24, and that the man's heart being given to the lion referred to the future national conversion of Israel.

He did not agree with the Lecturer that the clay in Daniel's image represented democracy, or that the *vox populi* could be spoken of as the most fickle form of government. He instanced the Swiss Republic and the United States as remarkably stable, although democratic, and added that France, the most volatile of peoples, had remained longer under the democratic form of government of a republic than under any of her previous monarchical experiments. He thought the clay represented the barbarians, who had overrun the Roman Empire and formed kingdoms, which had never been able to hold together as one empire, although Charlemagne and Napoleon had attempted it.

He called particular attention to the prophecy of Isaiah xviii., which the Lecturer had altogether overlooked, and suggested that the "land shadowing with wings beyond the rivers of Cush" that "sent her ambassadors by the sea" must be identified with the British Empire, and that Israel was undoubtedly the "nation dragged away and peeled, terrible from its beginning onward, but meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have despoiled." (This last expression referred to the way in which great popular movements such as the Crusades had been directed to Palestine.) The end of the prophecy (verse 7) speaks of this people being brought as a present to Jehovah to the place of His name, Mount Zion; which appears to contemplate the restoration

of the Jews by the agency of a power outside the prophetic earth, of which we see a small beginning in the Balfour declaration as to making a national home for the Jews in Palestine.

At the same time he thought we ought to put ourselves in the place of the Arabs, who having been in possession for many centuries, naturally resented the incoming of the Jews, who had previously inhabited the land, to displace them, just as we Anglo-Saxons would resent the countrymen of Mr. Lloyd George, as the old inhabitants of Britain, turning us out of England. However, he believed that the Jews must return in order that the prophecies of the last days might be fulfilled, and considered that we ought to regard the beginnings of this return now before our eyes as an indication that the Day of our Redemption was drawing near.

Lieut.-Col. Hope Biddulph said:—I am in practical agreement with this paper, but would like to point out that the historical theory, if taken alone, does not seem to stand firmly. Thus on page 168 the writer refers to the "beast" of Rev. xiii. as "a man," while the fourth beast of Daniel vii. is "an Empire." Presumably these two beasts are identical, and if this be so, the only way to reconcile the divergent interpretations is to allow that the prophecy may have a double fulfilment, one in which days are years, and the other a literal fulfilment at the end of the age.

Lord Bacon recognized this possibility when he wrote that "Divine prophecies being of the nature of their author, with whom 1,000 years are but as one day, and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishments throughout the many ages, though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age."

With reference to the "Times of the Gentiles," I have always considered that Levi. xxvi., verses 18, 21, 24 and 28, is a very uncertain authority for the "seven times," or Gentile week. We have, however, so many indications of a half week, in $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, 42 months, 1,260 days, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ days mentioned in David and Revelations, that it is not unreasonable to assume that there is a definite week in prophecy of which these form an integral part. However that may be, it is at least remarkable that from the first siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, either B.C. 606 or 604, till the declaration of war with Turkey for the liberation of Jerusalem 1915, and the capture of the city by Lord Allenby 1917, is exactly 2,520 solar years; while the same period measured from the destruction of Jerusalem, B.C. 587, brings us to A.D. 1934, the point at which, according to Dr. Grattan Guinness and other expositors, the Times of the Gentiles are presumed to run out. If this be so, we may expect to see the Jews reinstated in Palestine as an independent sovereign state by 1934.

Mr. W. E. Leslie said:—For many years students of prophecy have been divided between the Historicist and the Futurist schools, while the unbeliever cared for none of these things. Now all is changed. The unbeliever is within the Church, and he is taking a keen interest in apokalyptics. He points out quite correctly that the canonical writings are part of a larger apokalyptic literature but he refuses to admit that they are anything more. This Modernist school is now dominant in our seats of learning.

It is to be regretted, therefore, that Mr. Langston has expounded one of the rival Evangelical views instead of meeting the Modernist attack by pointing out that Biblical apokalyptics form a coherent whole as opposed to the incoherent uncanonical speculations. A critical work like Orr's *Problem of the Old Testament* is urgently needed in this department.

When names are predicted in Scripture, are they not given explicitly as in the case of Cyrus, or symbolically as in the case of the number of the Beast? Are not the philological speculations on page 170 unwise?

There appears to be a curious oversight on page 172. The "seven times" of Leviticus means "sevenfold," not seven prophetic "times." The Hebrew word for "times" (Dan. 7) is not used here. The chronological calculations built upon this misapprehension are therefore baseless.

The Chairman, Lieut.-Col. F. A. Molony, thanked Mr. Langston for putting forward a definite theory of prophecy, and said:—I agree in thinking that the fourth great empire predicted in Dan. vii. refers to Rome, and not to Greece. (See the appendix to Godet's biblical studies.)

Mr. Langston says "our King claims to rule by Divine right." His Majesty is so modest about expressing his views that personally I never knew that he made this claim, though I was in his service.

Mr. Langston says "it may be that all the conferences held in connection with the League of Nations are under the powers of darkness." I am glad he put in that "may be," for I belong to a branch of the League, and believe that it tries to work under the Power of Light, even God Himself.

The part of Mr. Langston's paper which I regret, is his attempt to fix a definite date, though tentatively, for the end of this dispensation and the second coming of Christ. He reminds us of the seven times predicted in Leviticus, and argues that these were 360 year-days each. Then he puts the starting time at the destruction of the Temple in B.C. 587, which brings us to A.D. 1933. Now both the prophecy of Moses, and the events of B.C. 587, were known to Jesus Christ, and yet he said, speaking

of His second coming, "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, and neither the Son." It seems to me that from Matt. xxiv. 14 and similar passages one may legitimately argue that the second coming of Christ is near, but if you argue from a prediction and a date, both given in the Old Testament, up to a date for the second coming of Christ, then you are claiming insight into a point of Old Testament interpretation where insight was expressly disclaimed by Christ. Probably this point of view did not occur to Mr. Langston. I will now ask him to reply to the criticisms on his very interesting paper.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

In dealing with such a subject as "The Times of the Gentiles in Relation to the End of the Age," of necessity there must be various interpretations and views. I have endeavoured as far as possible not to appear dogmatic in matters that are yet future.

The attitude I have taken up, is that of investigation rather than prognostication, and I am the last person on the face of the earth to fix a date for the return of the Lord Jesus Christ, and hope that my very indefinite language will be looked upon in that light.

At the same time, we cannot get away from the fact that the Bible gives dates, and surely it is not wrong for us to make a special endeavour to find out what they mean, and their full significance.

With regard to the League of Nations; as a human effort to restrain lawlessness and prevent war, I support it with all my heart: but again one cannot help feeling that it may be a preparation for the state of affairs that is depicted by the prophet Daniel in the last days of the "Times of the Gentiles."

The CHAIRMAN said: "It is the custom of the Victoria Institute always to allow the Lecturer the last argument. I will therefore again ask you to accord to the Rev. E. L. Langston a very hearty vote of thanks for his most instructive paper."

644th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W., on Monday,
May 29th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

THEODORE ROBERTS, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following as Members: Albert Hiorth, Esq., C.E., Wilson Edwards Leslie, Esq., and as Associate, David Smith Dow, Esq.

The Chairman then announced that the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D., the author of the paper, "The Readers for Whom Matthew wrote his Hebrew Gospel," had not been able to make it convenient to come to town, and that Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Molony, O.B.E., would kindly read it in his place.

THE READERS FOR WHOM MATTHEW WROTE HIS HEBREW GOSPEL.

BY THE REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D.

It is universally admitted that external evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the traditional view that the earliest Gospel was written by Matthew in Hebrew. Archdeacon Allen thus sums up the case in the Introduction to his commentary on Matthew (pp. lxxix., lxxx.): "We have a uniform tradition in the second century . . . to the effect that the first Gospel was written by Matthew, the Tollgatherer and Apostle, in Hebrew. . . . This tradition is directly contradicted by the testimony of the first Gospel itself." It is misleading to call this "tradition." We do not say "there is a tradition that the Persians were defeated at Marathon"; yet it was fought six years before Herodotus, our earliest authority, was born. Papias, the earliest witness to the authorship of the first Gospel, was as near the probable date of its composition as was Herodotus to the date of Marathon. But the alleged contradiction of the evidence of history by the contents of Matthew may be challenged. Archdeacon Allen in the most painstaking way tabulates the differences between the first and second Gospels; in his argument he assumes throughout that Matthew borrowed from Mark, and supplies somewhat vaguely reasons why Matthew omitted words or clauses from Mark or added them. He never considers the converse possibility that

Mark borrowed from Matthew. Against this may be placed several instances in which Mark appears to correct mistakes in Matthew. Thus compare the mission of Apostles in Matt. x. 10 with Mark vi. 8, 9; or the reward of self-denial, Matt. xix. 29 with Mark x. 29, 30; and most striking of all compare Matt. xxvi. 34 with Mark xiv. 39. Mark, it is generally admitted, had behind him the evidence of Peter, whose *hermeneutes* he was. He in opposition to all the other Evangelists, relates that our Lord in warning Peter said: "This day, in this night, before the cock crow *twice* thou shalt deny me thrice." If Matthew wrote subsequent to Mark, and "transferred almost the whole of the second Gospel" to his own pages, as Dr. Allen says he did, why did he, in making the transference, introduce such a change as omitting "twice"? Especially is this a difficulty when we remember that Matthew knew that Mark recorded Peter's evidence, which, on all the incidents connected with this painful episode, was by far the best. If, however, Mark wrote last with Matthew before him he might, on the authority of Peter, make the alteration. Dr. Allen gets over the difficulty by saying: "Mark's *dis* is of doubtful authority." Lachmann, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, W. and H. retain it; the great majority of the uncials have it; it is in the Old Syriac, the Diatessaron, the Vulgate, and the Peshitta. What motive could induce a copyist to introduce this word and arrange the subsequent narrative to suit? Harmonistic reasons would strongly impel him to omit it in the three passages in which it occurs.

We then venture to maintain that internal, as well as external, evidence supports the view of Clement of Alexandria, that Mark's was the last of the Synoptic Gospels to be written.

Patristic evidence contains another element more pertinent to our present object; that Matthew wrote in Hebrew. Most modern scholars hold that this means Aramaic. For our present purpose this is not important. It is maintained rightly that our Greek Matthew presents none of the phenomena of a translation, but every symptom of a work composed in Greek. There is, however, a nearly contemporary analogy in the case of Josephus, who, as he tells in his Introduction, wrote his History of the "Wars of the Jews" first in the "language of our country" and then translated it into Greek. His history has all the appearance of having been written originally in Greek. An author who, having written a work in one language translates it into another with which he is equally familiar, really composes anew. If Matthew did as Josephus, his Gospel would read as if it had been composed in Greek. This, if it is correct, explains why the Fathers, in quoting the first Gospel, never show any consciousness that they are quoting, not from the original Gospel, but from a translation.

To limit the external evidence, it is retorted that Matthew made merely a collection of our Lord's "sayings," *ta logia*. Against this is the fact that the word *logion*, which occurs four times in the New Testament, never is translated "saying." It occurs some 60 times in the *lxx.*, and with one doubtful exception it means either the High Priest's breast-plate or a divine oracle, never an ordinary "saying." It is a rare word; Moulton and Milligan record no instance of it in the *papyri*. The "sayings" discovered by Grenfell and Hunt are never called by the collector *logia*, always *logoi*. Irenæus regarded what Matthew had written as the Gospel. According to the text of Routh (Rel. Sac. i. 13) and Gebhardt and Harnack (Barn. Ep., p. 92), Papias applied the same term to Mark's Gospel as to Matthew's.

For whom, then, was this Hebrew Gospel written? The common answer is: "For his countrymen in Palestine." Reasonable as this answer seems, we venture to regard it as incorrect. In the first place, it was not necessary to write in Aramaic for the Jews in Palestine, as they all, speaking generally, knew Greek. It seems almost certain that our Lord addressed the multitude commonly in Greek. Had our Lord spoken to them in Aramaic, when He quoted the Law of the Prophets, He would have done so in accordance with the Hebrew, or at all events with the Targum. Practically invariably when, in the first Gospel, our Lord Himself quotes, He follows the *lxx.*, even where it differs from the Hebrew. In the narrative when the Evangelist himself is the speaker, the Hebrew is generally followed. Other proofs might be produced. When our Lord uses Aramaic, it is marked as a peculiarity. The crowd in Jerusalem expected Paul to address them in Greek, but gave more heed when they heard that he was speaking in Hebrew. Pilate—or Lysias—needs no interpreter in his dealings with the people. The Palestine converts would be as well acquainted with Greek as a Belgian with French.

In the second place, Palestine is a small country; about the size of Wales. Not only so, but as it was incumbent on every male to present himself three times a year before the Lord at Jerusalem, the Jewish inhabitants were more closely in touch with each other than were the members of any other nationality of similar size. The fame of our Lord was soon known in Jerusalem, so that early in His ministry Scribes and Pharisees came from thence to Galilee to learn more particularly about Him. For years after His Ascension there would be no need to write or publish any account of His Words or Deeds for the inhabitants of Judea or Galilee. Paul could presume on Agrippa's knowledge of the history of our Lord. "These things were not done in a corner."

It is to be noted, in the third place, that the Christians of the first generation expected that their Lord's second coming would

not be long delayed. They thought that while men of that generation were yet living, the "Son of Man" would descend from heaven in glory, accompanied by the Holy Angels. As Jews they assumed that Judea would be the scene of His glory. There would not seem to them any need of writing an account for the Jews of Palestine of what had taken place during their Lord's life of Humiliation when that Humiliation would so soon be lost sight of in the Glory of His second Advent.

If not for the Jews of Palestine, for whom, then, was the Hebrew Gospel written? Again, we have an analogue in Josephus. In his Introduction to his "History of the Wars of the Jews" he says he composed it "in the language of our country and sent it . . . to those of our own nation beyond the Euphrates." We are apt to forget the extent and importance of this Eastern Diaspora. Without regarding as perfectly accurate, or historic the picture given in the Book of Esther of the pervading presence of the Israelites in the provinces of the Persian Empire, there are many evidences of the number, size, and the importance of the Jewish communities "beyond the Euphrates." Josephus (Ant. xv. ii., 2), speaking of the later fate of John Hyrcanus II., says: "Hyrcanus, having been brought (into Parthia), Phraates the king permitted him to dwell in Babylon, where there was a multitude of Jews." It must be remembered that the captives of Nebuchadnezzar were not the first carried east from Judea. Sennacherib claims (Schrader i. 286) to have led away captive from the land of Judah 200,750 persons; when Esar-haddon took Manasseh captive he would most likely take others also. The successive bands of captives taken by Nebuchadnezzar along with those earlier deportations imply a large Jewish community, of which only a small portion returned either with Zerubbabel or Ezra.

Although, so long as the Jewish state existed, Jerusalem was the *Qibla* of Judaism, with the capture of the Holy City by Titus, and later the crushing of Bar Cochba's rebellion, the national centre of gravity passed eastward till it definitely rested in Babylon. The official Targum of the Law, that of Onkelos, was not accepted as such till it had received the imprimatur of Babylon. The authoritative Talmud to the present day is Talmud Babli, not Yerushalmi. Though this change of centre was not completed till the 5th century, there must have been a large number of Jews in those portions of the Parthian Empire that abutted on that of Rome as early as the days of our Lord. The importance of the Jewish community in Babylon was little likely to be forgotten while the memory of Hillel, who had come from thence, was yet green.

Even had the apostles been liable to forget Eastern Jewry, Pentecost would have forced it on their notice. There was peace

between Rome and Parthia, and taking advantage of it, many Jews from the east of the Tigris were in Jerusalem. Though most of these would be only temporary sojourners, some seem, from the Greek word used, to have settled in Jerusalem. Others regarded themselves as "dwellers in Mesopotamia." To this multitude Peter preached, and many of those three thousand converts must have belonged to those four nationalities first named, as hearing in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. These, on their return to their home beyond the boundaries of the Empire, would need to be able to give a reason for the faith that was in them. The Israelites of the banks of the Tigris were as much influenced by Messianic hopes as were those of Palestine. They do not seem to have kept to themselves the expectation of some great personality springing from their midst; and this influenced their neighbours, as may be seen by the mission of the Magi. Their hopes had been of an imperial Messiah, a Lord of the Kings of the Earth. Instead they—these Jerusalem pilgrims—return home proclaiming their belief that one crucified as a malefactor was the Messiah promised to the Fathers. These temporary sojourners in Jerusalem could have seen little or nothing of Jesus, so as to be fired with personal enthusiasm; they could not take Peter with them to Mesopotamia. A written record of all that Jesus had done and taught must be their dependence. This record would need to be composed in Aramaic or Hebrew—the two languages which, as Jews, they knew. The conquests of Alexander had spread, it is true, some knowledge of Greek even to Bactria, as proved by the coins, but it was not a medium to influence the public of Parthian Judaism.

Is the Gospel of Matthew a document that would fit the purpose for which we presume it to have been written, *i.e.*, that Jesus the Crucified fulfilled all that the prophets had foretold of the Messiah, and that He was—what the prophets had but hinted—God as well as Man?

It opens by showing Christ's legal Davidic descent in the throne line. Next it shows that His place of birth was that foretold, a fact emphasized by the visit of the Magi; the mission of whom might still be remembered, even after the lapse of more than thirty years, and so confirm the Gospel. Although the interest and excitement it would cause at the time among the Jews of Parthia would have died down, yet the memory would be easily revived. Matthew alone of the Evangelists records the visit of the Magians.

An objection is anticipated: "If this Messiah in Whom you believe was born in Bethlehem, how is it that He is always called 'Jesus of Nazareth'?" Matthew answers this by giving an account of the flight into Egypt, the consequence of the Magian mission, and the return, not to Judea, but to Galilee and

to Nazareth. He proceeds to show that in both the flight into Egypt and the choosing of Nazareth as a residence there was a fulfilment of prophecy. Did not Hosea say: "I have called my Son out of Egypt," and Isaiah declare that "a branch (*netzer*) should grow out of the roots of Jesse"? As Jesus of Nazareth He was the man of the branch. The Israelites of Parthia might be as likely as the scribes of Jerusalem to have imbibed the prejudice that "out of Galilee ariseth no prophet"; this Matthew answers by showing that it was precisely in Naphthali and Zabulon that the Messianic light was to shine forth. The Mission, and Message of the Baptist would be widely known; even Josephus thinks it worthy of being chronicled. Matthew relates his testimony. It is unnecessary to multiply proofs that the writer of the first Gospel relates every action of the subject of his work to prophecies going before, step by step, to the triumphal entry into Jerusalem and the soldiers casting lots on His garments at the foot of the Cross.

Another peculiarity is manifested in the record of Matthew. The Evangelist, assuming that his countrymen east of the Euphrates hoped, as did their kindred in Judea, for a royal Messiah, calls that time of coming glory a Kingdom. But while the other Synoptists designate it the "Kingdom of God," Matthew invariably calls it "the Kingdom of Heaven," or rather "of the Heavens." In this he follows the reverent practice of the Rabbins, who by this synonym avoided the undue obtrusion of the Sacred name. It was the same feeling which led the Jews to cease, in reading the Hebrew Scriptures, to pronounce the name of Jhwh, and say instead of "Lord," till now the true pronunciation is lost. The Jews in Babylon were more under scribal domination than were their brethren in Jerusalem. The influence of the Scribes was not in Babylon counter-balanced either by the party of the Sadducean High Priest, or by the Hellenizing tendencies of the Herods. To use this term to describe the Messianic glory, is an evidence of the intention of the Evangelist to suit his message to his eastern public.

Further, some rumour of the wonderful works of Jesus of Nazareth may have reached the eastern Dispersion. Matthew narrates many of these, but in doing so makes his narrative subserve his purpose of showing Jesus had loftier claims than the Messiah they expected. In one of the first miracles he describes, the healing of the paralytic, Jesus before healing the sufferer forgives his sins. The force of this is emphasized by the objection of the Scribes from Jerusalem: "Who can forgive sins but God only?" The implied claim is not denied, but reiterated and ratified by the performance of the miracle. By the method he has adopted in describing the miracle and the attitude of the Scribes from Jerusalem, the Evangelist wishes to show that Jesus

was far greater than the Messiah they had been expecting. Nothing had been said by the prophets that the Messiah would show miraculous powers. Two of the prophets, especially Elijah and Elisha, had possessed these powers in some degree, but in nothing like the degree and character in which Jesus possessed them. The manner of His works of wonder was fitted, specially fitted, to impress those dwelling in a land where magic was practised. Jesus healed by no invocation of potent spells, but simply by a touch. In the Apocryphal book of Tobit is seen the way evil spirits were exorcised; our Lord drove out evil spirits with a simple word. He raised the dead, and stilled the tempest with a word, walked on the waters, and fed thousands with a few barley loaves and two fishes. They had expected a conqueror who would win an empire by slaughter, but a greater is here.

These miracles give point and emphasis to His teaching. In the Sermon on the Mount He assumes a place above Moses. Moses in his legislation always claimed the authority of Jehovah behind him: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying" but Jesus enunciated His decisions with "I say." But He goes further. In the parable of the Drag-net, and still more in the parable with which He closes His ministry, the Sheep and the Goats, He represents Himself sitting on the Throne of the Most High and judging all men at the last day. Matthew, as the other Apostles, had come to realise that He, their Master, Who had eaten and drunk with them, was Divine. He knew how difficult it was for anyone to grasp this mysterious truth; he knew that it was only gradually that those who had been with Him had reached the comprehension of the nature of their Lord; hence he endeavours to lead those he is addressing by steps similar to those by which he himself and his brother Apostles had been led, to say each for himself, as Thomas did: "My Lord and my God."

Knowing that the Cross was above all the stumbling-block which hindered belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, Matthew dwells specially on it. The mockery of the soldiers; their crowning Him, if only with thorns; their thrusting into His hands a sceptre, if only a reed; their enwrapping Him in a purple robe, was a recognition, if only in mockery, that He had claimed Messiahship. Above all, was the title on the Cross, in Hebrew, Greek and Latin: "This is Jesus the King of the Jews." It was because he was the Anointed King that He was crucified. His miracles had marked Him out as being more than man. Matthew relates how marvels accompanied Him to the end. He, like the other Synoptists, tells of the mysterious darkness that enveloped the land for three hours; and of the veil of Temple rent as by a mighty hand "from the top to the bottom," so that the watching centurion was constrained to say: "Truly this was the Son of God." Matthew alone tells how the rocks were rent and the

graves were opened, and how the dead arose when the sufferer with a great cry gave up the ghost. Even in death He was victor over death.

Had Jesus been merely man, His claim to Messiahship had ended in disaster with His death. Matthew shows how, what to onlookers seemed to be His final and absolute defeat, was turned into glorious triumph by His Resurrection. He alone relates how the fact of the Resurrection was only the more emphasized by the efforts of the High Priests to prevent any false resurrection being pretended by the Apostles. The sealing of the stone and the placing of the watch only the more demonstrated the great fact. The Evangelist is careful to forestall the fable by which the Jewish priesthood strove to hide it. Those who were to carry the Gospel to Mesopotamia would most likely have heard the story. Some one of the elders, or perhaps one of the soldiers, let the truth slip out. Matthew's account of the forty days of the Lord's risen life seems scanty. As do the other Evangelists, he relates the presence of Mary Magdalene and the other Mary at the sepulchre before daybreak, and the vision of Angels, but he alone tells of the earthquake and its effect on the Roman sentinels. Other inhabitants of Jerusalem may have been awakened by the shaking of the earth, but as these earth tremors are frequent in Palestine they are not noticed unless specially severe. The very scappiness and scant amount of the records of our Lord's risen life as recorded by Matthew, as compared with the fulness and orderliness of what has gone before, suggests that this part of the Gospel was written on the very morrow of the events. The excitement, the spiritual exaltation of the six weeks between our Lord's Resurrection and His Ascension were but little conducive to calm narrative.

That Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, not for the Palestinian believers, but for the Eastern Diaspora is, to recapitulate, rendered probable by the fact that while the former knew Greek, and were familiar with our Lord's history, the latter knew little or no Greek, and had no means of being acquainted with the career of the crucified Messiah. Further, the events of Pentecost were specially fitted to impress the Apostles with the importance of Israel east of the Euphrates.

Have we any evidence that this Hebrew Gospel reached the readers for whom it was intended? It may be objected that the Book of Acts contains no record that multitudes were added to the Church through the perusal of an account of the Words and Works of Jesus. The silence of Acts is not to be pressed. To conclude, as some have done, from this that at first Christianity was confined to the Roman Empire, is to forget the very limited scope of the Book. It is in no true sense the "Acts of the Apostles." It really only narrates the Acts of Paul. What is

related even of St. Peter is only what is preparatory to the work of St. Paul. It was needful to describe the founding of the Church and its early organisation, else St. Paul would have had no starting-point. Peter's visit to Joppa, and consequent call to Cæsarea and the house of Cornelius, is related at great length, with his defence of his conduct before the Jerusalem Church, all to prepare the way for Paul's mission to the Gentiles. If used as proof, the silence of Acts proves too much, and, therefore, proves nothing. Alexandria was, out of Greece itself, the centre of Hellenism in the Roman World, and out of Palestine, the most influential community of Israelites in the Empire dwelt there. Although there is no word of any Apostle or Evangelist going there, early in the second century. Alexandria is the centre of Greek Christianity. In regard to Rome itself there is no record of the time when, or of the persons by whom the Gospel was brought thither. When Paul writes his Epistle to the "Romans" it is to a community of Christians whom he expects soon to visit that he writes. If Peter did visit Rome, as tradition has it, there is no notice of it in Acts. Even the labours of the Apostle Paul are only partially recorded. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that we have no account of the founding of Churches in Mesopotamia, any more than any account of Paul's journeys between his first and second imprisonment.

Besides the legends of the Mission of Andrew to Scythia, and of Thomas to India, and more particularly the legend in Isidore that Matthew went and preached to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, which may be shadowy memory of his Gospel being sent there, there is the Mission of Pantænus to India. Eusebius tells that not only did he find that Bartholomew had preceded him in India, but that there were many evangelists, even then, zealously engaged in preaching the Word.

Another element has to be considered. The two Empires of Rome and Parthia, even when nominally at peace, were always suspicious of each other, and Parthian subjects were apt, on crossing the border, to be arrested as spies, by over-zealous Roman officials. The Jews appear to have been placed on a special footing. They were a nation by themselves, but the Christians were a people not understood by the Roman police. Then there was the serious barrier of language; Greek was little known east of the Euphrates, and out of Palestine Aramaic was little known west of it.

But there is evidence that the Gospel was not without fruit to the east of the Euphrates. In the last chapter of his first Epistle the Apostle Peter sends greetings to the Churches of Asia Minor from "their co-elect in Babylon." The grammatically possible, but logically highly improbable view, that the *suneklekte* in this passage is an individual woman, Peter's wife in short, may be

dismissed. Assuming that it is a Church that through the Apostle sends greetings to other Churches, it is asserted that it is not a Christian community in the historic Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, but the Church of Rome that is intended. Except in the Revelation of St. John no trace is to be found in Apostolic or post-Apostolic times of Babylon being a pseudonym for Rome. Babylon was an important city, important enough for Trajan to recross the Tigris to besiege and capture it, about sixty years after the probable date of this Epistle. There must then have been a regular Christian Church in Babylon not later than A.D. 60, over which the Apostle Peter was presiding, accompanied by Mark. As the various Jewish communities in Babylonia maintained a close intercourse with each other, it may be assumed as likely that Churches would be set up in other Jewish centres, as Nahardea and Sura.

In Christian tradition another city, Edessa, claims precedence even of Babylon. According to the well-known legend, the king of Edessa, Abgar, sent a letter to our Lord praying Him to come and heal him. In the answer which our Lord sent, He promised to send one of His disciples after His Ascension to do for him what he desired. He concludes with the promise: "Thy town shall be blessed, and no enemy again shall have dominion over it for ever." This promise was falsified when (A.D. 116) Lusius Quietus captured, sacked and burned Edessa. Admitting that this letter is a forgery, the promise it contains would not be forged *after* it had already been falsified; it must have been written before A.D. 116; and long enough before to have got such a hold on the people, that even when events falsified it the promise was still treasured. The Christian community in Edessa must have been both numerous and influential for a prophecy uttered by their founder to take such a hold on the inhabitants. The legend proceeds to tell that after our Lord's Ascension, Thomas sent Addai to heal king Abgar and evangelize Edessa. Without being committed to the truth of this legend, we venture to hold that Christianity must have been introduced into Edessa not later than A.D. 70. We are aware, that in assigning so early a date to the Christianization of Edessa we are at variance with the formidable authority of Dr. Burkitt, who would date that event in the latter half of the second century. He arrives at this conclusion on the evidence of the epilogue to the "Doctrine of Addai," a document of uncertain age, which, assuming Addai to be the founder of the Church in Edessa, gives him only one successor till Palût, who, as his predecessor Aggai was martyred, is ordained by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch. The Episcopate of Serapion lasted from A.D. 190 to 202. There is something wrong in this; either the traditional date of Addai is much too early, or Palût's connection with Serapion is a mistake, or there were more

Bishops between Addai and the end of the second century. While Dr. Burkitt considers it incontrovertible that Palût was contemporary with Serapion, he admits that some authorities say that Barsamya, one of Palût's successors, was put to death under Trajan; but Trajan died A.D. 117, before Christianity was introduced into Edessa, according to Dr. Burkitt. Further, in the account which Dr. Burkitt gives of Bardaisan, from Michael the Syrian, Hystasp was Bishop of Edessa in A.D. 179—eleven years before the Episcopate of Serapion; he was the successor of Izani.

An incident falls to be introduced here, which has a bearing, not only on when the Syrian Churches were founded, but also as affording a reason why so few notices of them have been preserved. Bishop Medlycott (*India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 18) relates on the authority of Bar Hebræus and Assemani, that in the year A.D. 139 Jacob, Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, sent two presbyters, Achadabues and Kam-Jesu, to Antioch, in order that one of them should be chosen and consecrated for the episcopacy by the Bishop of Antioch; this was in accordance with prevailing ecclesiastical usage. On their arrival at Antioch, they were denounced as Parthian spies and arrested. Achadabues escaped and went to Jerusalem, but Kam-Jesu was executed. This unfortunate occurrence terminated the relationship between the metropolitan See of Parthia and the Patriarchate of Antioch. It is to be noted that there was a fully organised Christian Church in Seleucia-Ctesiphon before the date preferred by Dr. Burkitt for the introduction of Christianity into Syria. We venture then to continue to hold to our opinion that Christianity early found its way into Mesopotamia and Parthia. That now it is represented on the banks of the Euphrates by a few weak communities of Armenians and Nestorians, and has disappeared altogether from regions further to the East, is due, first to the fierce persecution of the Sassanide princes, and then to the submergence of the whole country under the flood of Islam, with the sword in the one hand and the Qûran in the other.

It is somewhat confirmatory of our contention as to the destination of the Hebrew Gospel that it so early and so completely disappeared from the West. Jerome was the last man who professes to have seen a copy late in the fourth century in Palestine. There is, as is well known, a translation of the New Testament into Eastern Aramaic, the Peshitta. The version of the first Gospel in it was sometimes regarded as representing the earliest form of the Aramaic Matthew. A more thorough knowledge of the history of the Eastern Church, and of the Aramaic versions used in it, compelled the abandonment of that view. It is recognised now that from the beginning of the third century to the Episcopate of Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (412-435), the Syrian Churches used in their Sunday services, not the separate Gospels, but Tatian's

Diatessaron in Syriac. As Tatian was a heretic, Rabbula commenced a crusade against the use of his work in Divine service. So successful has this crusade been, that not a single copy has come down to us in Syriac. Two Arabic translations were found in the Vatican Library, and have since been translated. Another source of information is found in the commentaries of Ephraim Syrus, accessible to us only in an Armenian translation; Ephraim used the Diatessaron, and quotes from it as he proceeds. Another factor in the question, however, had to be considered. Dr. Cureton published, in 1858, a copy of the Gospels in Syriac, representing a very much older recension than the Peshitta. This discovery was emphasized by the discovery some thirty years later of the Sinaitic Palimpsest by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, a copy of the Curetonian recension. Rabbula is credited with having had the Gospels translated from the Greek to replace the Diatessaron. A comparison of the Peshitta with the Curetonian does not confirm this view; it is rather a revision of the earlier, and so stands to it very much as our Revised does to the Authorised Version.

This conclusion again brings us into conflict with Dr. Burkitt. He holds that Tatian's Diatessaron, or to give it its Syriac name, *Euangelion-da-Mehallete*, was the earliest form in which the Gospels reached Syria. His view on this matter is conditioned by that which he has on the date at which Christianity reached Edessa. We have, we think, exhibited the insufficiency of the grounds on which he has come to his decision, and have advanced reasons for claiming a date much earlier than his for the founding of the Syrian Church. On literary grounds the priority of the *Euangelion-da-Mepharreshe* may be shown. The dependence of the Peshitta on the Curetonian suggests it as well known. There is the difficulty of imagining the occasion for anyone undertaking a translation of the separate Gospels to rival the Diatessaron used in the Churches. Besides its obvious independence of the text of the Diatessaron, there is the impossibility of anyone tearing to pieces the Diatessaron, and assigning to each Gospel what belongs to it, taking account of the fact that in duplicated narratives the slight variations are preserved. The title given to the Diatessaron, "the Gospel of the Mixed," impeies to knowledge that the Gospel existed in separate narratives. Convenience for liturgic purposes would easily explain the adoption of the combined narrative, in preference to the separate Gospels.

A study of the Curetonian exhibits its strongly Semitic character. This is more marked in the Gospel of Matthew, than in that of either Mark or Luke or John. This impression is intensified when it is compared with the parallel Matthæan passages in the Palestinian Lectionary found by Mrs. Lewis. The form proper names assume in the latter clearly proves that it has been trans-

lated from the Greek. Our Lord is called *Yesous*, not *Yeshu'a*, the Apostle Peter is always *Petros*, not as in Peshitta and the Curetonian, *Kepha*. So with the other Apostles, *Matai* instead of *Mati*, *Ya'qobos* instead of *Ya'qob*, and *Yohanos* instead of *Yohanan*. As has already been noted, Dr. Cureton was under the impression that in the version of Matthew which he discovered he came upon a transcript of Matthew's original Hebrew Gospel. Nearly a score of years ago Professor Hjelt, in *Zahr's Forschungen*, published a study of the Curetonian Matthew, in which he came to the conclusion that "Matthew" is the work of a hand other than that which has translated the other Gospels. The force of Hjelt's arguments Dr. Burkitt admits to some extent, and fails, as it seems to us, to turn. While differences between the Syriac in the version of Matthew's Gospel and that in the other Synoptists are obvious to the careful student; no one can fail to be struck with the general resemblance in style and mode of rendering. This may be explained if Matthew's Gospel was much the earliest to reach the East, and, as it did in the West, secured a place as a sacred writing before the arrival of the others; in that case the other Gospels would naturally be translated in a similar style. When the missing fragment of the Apocryphal book of Esdras was discovered, it was translated into the "Bible English" of three centuries ago.

Whether Dr. Cureton's supposition is correct, that we have in the Syriac version discovered by him the original Aramaic Matthew or it be a translation from a Hebrew original, does not matter for our thesis; it is very early, and is not translated from Greek. This, combined with the fact, which we have endeavoured to make clear, that the Palestinian converts did not need a Hebrew or Aramaic Gospel, and the further fact that, *circ.* A.D. 189, Pantænus found a copy in India, enables us to claim that we have at least rendered the truth of our thesis probable.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am sure we shall all feel we are very much indebted to Dr. Thomson for his extremely interesting and instructive paper, which has given me more food for thought than any other lately read here. I must confess that it has never occurred to me to regard St. Matthew's Gospel as written for the purpose of circulation in the countries east of Palestine, but I think our lecturer has shown good reasons for holding this view. Its chief importance for us as students of the Gospels is the new reason which it gives for the differences between this Gospel and the other synoptic Gospels, a subject, to my mind, of surpassing interest.

I still, however, believe that Mark's Gospel was the first written, as I think is shown by its commencing sentence, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," if we remember that the four evan-

gelists were always regarded in early days as forming one Gospel. I do not myself see why those who spread Christianity in the East should require a written Gospel earlier than those who spread it in the West.

I agree with Dr. Thomson in the reasons he has given for the earliest preachers not requiring any written account of our Lord's life, but should think these applied to those who worked in the East as well as to those in the West.

I think that the only way in which the verbal similarities in the synoptic Gospels coupled with their divergencies can be explained is by supposing that these three Evangelists made use of a common oral tradition. In days when much writing and reading have permanently impaired our capacity for memorizing, we are unable to realize how readily the *ipsissima verba* of long narratives were in those days retained in the memory.

St. Matthew, from his former occupation of tax-gatherer, was probably the most accustomed to writing among the Apostles, and therefore, the preparation of a Gospel for the Eastern Christians would more naturally fall to him than any other of the Twelve.

I must say that the lecturer has not convinced me that St. Peter wrote (or dictated) his first Epistle at Babylon. I agree with Dr. Hort and Professor Ramsay that this Apostle lived for several years at least after the death of St. Paul, and wrote his Epistle at a time when the book of Revelation may have been already current; or if not, at a time when Rome was already known in Christian circles as Babylon. I think the early tradition of St. Peter in connection with Rome, however distorted, could not be wholly without foundation, and I should judge from the districts mentioned in his first Epistle that his labours had not been carried so far east as Babylon.

I do not quite understand why Dr. Thomson speaks of the Sinaitic Palimpsest discovered by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson as a copy of the Curetonian recension. I thought it was generally regarded as older than what Dr. Cureton published.

As regards the name "kingdom of heaven." I think it is based on Daniel iv. 26, "after thou hast known that *the heavens do rule*," and sets forth the acceptance on earth of the rule of heaven, which is at present confined to those who acknowledge the One seated at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens (Heb. viii. 1) as their Lord and Master. It is important to notice that even in Matthew's record, our Lord changed the name to the Kingdom of God when He was speaking of the time then present while He was on earth (xii. 28), and also when He was speaking of the privilege and blessing of the Kingdom (xxi. 43). Our lecturer has overlooked these instances in saying that Matthew invariably uses the title "kingdom of the heavens."

I agree with Ernest Renan's remark that the Gospel of Matthew is the most important book ever published in the world, setting forth as it does the change from Judaism to Christianity, than which there could be no greater event in the history of God's dealings with men. Matthew is the only one of the four Evangelists, who records our Lord's prophecy of the foundation of the Christian Church, and gives the formula for Christian baptism. He also alone quotes and applies to our Lord's parabolic teaching the Psalm of Asaph, "I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things kept secret from the foundation of the world," an exact parallel with Paul's statement that the mystery of the Church had not been made known to men in previous ages. In the great eschatologic discourse in Chapters xxiv. and xxv., we have a more detailed account of the second coming of our Lord than appears in any other Gospel, which also contravenes a merely Jewish view.

I therefore ask you to pass by acclamation a vote of thanks to Dr. Thomson.

Dr. SCHOFIELD, in thanking Dr. Thomson for his able paper, which he had read with great interest, wished to accentuate the doctor's words on page 182: "It opens by shewing Christ's legal Davidic descent in the throne line." This, as we know, was through Joseph, and with this view before him one would suppose Matthew would leave to others any mention of the fact that Jesus was not actually Joseph's son at all. It is rather remarkable that such is not the case, and Matthew gives very strong evidence twice over—once directly and the other indirectly—that such was *not* the case. In Matthew i. 20, the Evangelist gives the direct statement as from the "angel of the Lord," that Christ "was conceived (or begotten *Mary*) in Mary of the Holy Ghost," and this after Joseph had found (v. 18) that Mary was with child, as Matthew adds, "of the Holy Ghost."

The other indirect statement is the extraordinary character of v. 16, which instead of saying, as all through, "and Joseph begets Jesus, who is called Christ," avoids any such statement, which, if true, would certainly be made, by the curious circumlocution, "Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ."

The fact that it was to Matthew's interest to pass over the virgin birth in a way that did not concern Luke, renders these two statements of the greatest importance to our Lord's unique conception; and Matthew himself our greatest witness as to the truth of the Virgin Birth, although, for the esoteric account, we must study Luke.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES said that, beyond and above the interesting question as to the readers for whom St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, was the great object of portraying the glory of Christ in

the special aspect as Jehovah's Messiah. In St. Mark He is Jehovah's Servant, in St. Luke He is Jehovah's Man, in St. John He is Jehovah Himself. It is in this light that the Jewish Remnant—after the Church has gone—will read the four Gospels from the Jewish standpoint, in connection with the Old Testament prophecies.

"The kingdom of the heavens," an expression found 32 times in St. Matthew's Gospel, points, as most of us know, to the future actual reign of the heavens over the earth under the glorious reign of Christ, as foretold by Daniel and by the Lord Himself in Matthew xxiv. and xxv.

The parable of the sheep and the goats should be interpreted according to the context.

Lt.-Col. MACKINLAY said: It is, of course, very generally supposed that St. Mark's Gospel in Greek was the first of all; but Dr. Thomson is not, I believe, alone in thinking that St. Matthew wrote first, and in Hebrew. Our author claims that St. Matthew wrote for the Jews long dispersed in Babylonian dominions; he gives many excellent reasons for these conclusions, which are very probably correct, though whether Matthew wrote before Mark hardly seems to affect the question.

Looking at the details of the paper, the differences between the Synoptists are hard to explain, particularly the "dis" of Mark, to which our author alludes on page 179; they may be due to various causes, but it is difficult to see how they demonstrate that Matthew wrote his Gospel before Mark.

On page 180 the fact that our Lord quoted the Septuagint looks as if He spoke in Greek. But then we have records of the actual Aramaic or Hebrew words which He employed on certain definite occasions. Apparently, our Lord used both languages; we ourselves have but little practical experience of bi-lingualism in the part of the country in which we live, but some Welshmen, our Prime Minister, for instance, appear to be equally fluent in their native language and in English, and thus able to give an account of events equally graphically in either tongue. The labouring countrymen, on the other hand, are only at home in their own language, consequently the bi-lingual capacities of a people differ among themselves.

Why does our author, on page 181 suggest any doubt of the historical accuracy of the book of Esther? All will agree that large numbers of captive Jews were taken into Babylonia or Assyria in Old Testament times, and their descendants remained there in great measure.

Pages 182 to 184 are valuable, and are worthy of careful study, as they enumerate many of the distinctive features of the Gospel of St. Matthew, specially the fulfilment of prophecy, the Davidic genea-

logy of our Lord, His claims to Divinity in forgiving sins, and of authority in teaching; the record of the symbols of kingship at the Crucifixion, although given in mockery, tend in the same direction.

The study of the special features of each Gospel is attracting much attention at the present time, and this part of the paper is a useful contribution to this subject.

On page 181 our author speaks of the shifting of the Jewish centre of gravity from Jerusalem to Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. At the present day, modern Jews observe many ceremonies of the Passover not enjoined in the Bible, but which they declare have come down to them from the times of the Jews in Babylonia.

Now that Mesopotamia has come under our influence, we may perhaps hope to discover some traces of the Jews and even of the early Christians in that part of the world, notwithstanding the subsequent persecutions of the Sassanide princes and of the Moslems. We know that in North Africa, though long under Mahomedan sway, there are many vestiges of former Christian worship and customs. Possibly, similar vestiges may be found in Mesopotamia; the features and some of the tribal customs of the Afghans resemble those of the Jews in Old Testament times.

The Diatessaron is mentioned several times in the paper before us; it aims at being a connected narrative of our Lord's life, or a harmony of the Gospels. I happen to have examined a translation of it with some little care a few years ago, to see if its chronology agreed with that which I had deduced from a study of all the Gospels, particularly from that of St. Luke, but agreement could not be found, except with that of St. Matthew; in fact, it appeared that St. Matthew's Gospel had been taken as a framework, and events not narrated by him had been inserted by the author in a somewhat careless manner sometimes, being in positions quite contradictory to their places in the other three Gospels. Possibly, future investigators may find other resemblances between the records of St. Matthew and the Diatessaron.

Our warm thanks are due to Dr. Thomson for his careful and very able paper.

Rev. F. E. MARSH said: Miles Coverdale, in his translation, lays down the following rules in reading any section of the Scriptures. These rules are of primary importance:—

“It shall greatly helpe ye to understande Scripture, if thou mark
 Not only what is spoken or written,
 But of whom,
 And to whom.
 And what words,
 At what time.

Where.

To what intent,
With what circumstances,
Considering what goeth before,
And what followeth."

We could not have better rules in pondering the Gospel before us. Matthew was written *specifically* for Hebrew Christians, but *generally* for all believers in Christ; hence, while the Gospel leads us back to David and Abraham in its commencement, its close has its Gospel message to all nations.

The message of Matthew is about the King and His Kingdom. All the evangelists emphasize that Christ was crucified as "The King of the Jews," but Matthew unfolds the character of the Kingdom in the Sermon on the Mount, and the mysteries of the Kingdom in the parables of Matthew xiii.

There are several outstanding proofs that Matthew's Gospel was written for Hebrew Christians.

The opening words, "The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," connects the Gospel with the Old Testament, where we find thirteen other generations mentioned.

Thirteen is an incomplete number, therefore we need the generation of our Lord to make the double perfect number, namely, twice seven. The peculiar thing is, Abraham's and David's generations are not spoken of, but these several heads are linked up with Christ in the New Testament. This fact would be of peculiar interest to Hebrew Christians.

The peculiar designation of the sphere of God's rule in "The Kingdom of the Heavens" is confined to Matthew, and occurs 32 times. "The God of Heaven" is the One who rules, as all the Jews believed.

The definite sentence, "The end of the age," is peculiar to Matthew, and refers to the end of the Jewish age (xiii. 39, 40, 49; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 30), which has its consummation after the parenthetical period of the Church.

Again, the formula—"That it might be fulfilled which was spoken," or "written," "by means of the prophet"—is exclusive to Matthew, and also their equivalent, "That which was spoken," or "it was spoken." These occur 32 times, and connect the two Testaments.

There are many other points which confirm the fact, that the Gospel of Matthew was written to Hebrew Christians. The reference to the building of the Church in the future of Christ's time, and His reference to the judgment of the nations because of their treatment of His brethren according to the flesh, make it of special import to the Hebrew Christians, although its application is to all God's children.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said that the arguments and conclusions advanced by Dr. Thomson as to Matthew's account of the Gospel having been written first, did not appeal to him. There seemed to be too much supposition, hypothesis, legend, and tradition relied upon for the argument to carry any weight with him. But that was a small matter.

The really serious thing that did matter was the way in which the Divine inspiration of the Word of God was ignored, first on page 179, second line, where the lecturer says: "Mark appears to correct mistakes in Matthew"; and again on page 181: "Without regarding as perfectly accurate or historic the picture given in the book of Esther."

Now, if there are "mistakes" in Matthew, and if Esther is "inaccurate" and "unhistoric," then what becomes of the inspiration of the Bible as is claimed in such passages as these: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. iii. 16); or "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i. 21)?

But, in addition to these, there are numberless instances which prove conclusively the Divine inspiration, and therefore the minute accuracy of the Holy Scriptures.

Take, for example, Gal iii. 16, where Christ is shewn to be the promised seed by the letter "s" in our authorized translation, i.e., the difference between the singular and plural of the word "seed": "He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ."

Mr. W. HOSTE said: Dr. Thomson's thought on page 183 that Matthew, in his use of the expression, "Kingdom of Heaven," "follows the reverent practice of the Rabbis in avoiding the undue obtrusion of the Sacred Name," seems suggestive, and valuable as a corrective to certain fanciful distinctions, as they seem to me, drawn by some between this and the other phrase, "Kingdom of God." There is a difference, of course, but it cannot be profound, seeing, for one thing, that the terms are used interchangeably in the same parables, of the mustard seed and leaven, in Matthew xiii. and Luke xiii. The "Kingdom of Heaven" would emphasize the source of the authority, the kingdom of God, the one who exercises that authority, its sovereign ruler.

I am afraid I cannot agree with the Chairman, in spite of the glamour of Renan's name, whom he calls as witness that the object of Matthew throughout is to shew the supersession of Judaism by Christianity. The ministry of our Lord was confined to the lost sheep of the House of Israel, and He warned the twelve not to trespass those limits. It seems to me a gross spiritual anachronism to bring in Christianity into, at any rate, the first 27 chapters of Matthew, except prophetically in chapter xvi., "I will build my

church." "Grace and truth" came by Jesus Christ, but that is not Christianity, but the principles on which the Kingdom was to be set up. It is important to remember that during our Lord's mission, Israel had not been set aside nationally, the true branches had not been severed from the olive tree (see Rom. xi.). They were still in the place of national privilege. Christianity, which recognizes no national preference, is incompatible with the Jewish position of most favoured nation. The two cannot co-exist. Christianity depends on the ascended Christ and a completed Pentecost. Every intelligent Jew of our Lord's time would be familiar with the prophet Daniel. They had no "higher critics" among them to explain that Daniel was a forgery! They knew that of Daniel's four world-empires, three had fallen, that they were under the fourth, and that what would follow would be the Kingdom which the God of Heaven would set up, which would break in pieces and consume all the other kingdoms. What else could the "Kingdom of the Heavens" announced by the Baptist, by Christ and His Apostles, be than that fifth Kingdom.

It was only when they rejected the Kingdom on the King's terms that the testimony was modified, and works of power—the miraculous signs of the Kingdom—were largely replaced by words of power—prophetic parables expounding the mysteries of the Kingdom. What are these mysteries? That a Kingdom should be set up in the hearts of the disciples in the absence of the rejected King. This is the present aspect of the Kingdom, "not meat and drink," that is, consisting of outward rules and rites; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, an attitude of heart to the absent Lord.

Mr. AVARY H. FORBES expressed a doubt as to the ignorance of Greek east of the Euphrates, which the lecturer assumed. After the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks, the latter mixed largely in Persian affairs, as enemies, allies or partisans. Many of these Greeks remained in Persia. Alexander's invasion, later on, was not that of a vulgar conqueror. He sought to spread Hellenic culture in Asia, and amalgamate the East and the West. He founded towns along his route, he encouraged his soldiers to marry Asiatic wives, and set the example himself; and he induced many Asiatics to enlist under his banner. At Persepolis, he found *many hundreds of Greeks*, who, for some offence, had lost an eye, a hand, a foot or an ear—according to the cruel Persian laws. These he offered to send back to Greece, and support them himself. But, ashamed of their mutilated condition, they preferred to remain in Persia. In the Persian armies which Alexander encountered, moreover, there was often a phalanx of Greek mercenaries. These facts suggest that Greek was more widely understood east of the Euphrates than assumed in the paper.

The AUTHOR'S reply:—I would begin by thanking the Institute

for its kindness in receiving my paper in my absence, and in providing one to read it.

To begin with Mr. Roberts, the Chairman. I do not think that any reason in favour of the chronological primacy of Mark can be deduced from the opening sentence of his Gospel—it only means that the prophecy of John the Baptist was really “the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” According to Papias, the early preachers in the locality in which he lived interpreted the Hebrew Matthew as best they could. As he belonged to Asia Minor, his evidence applies to the West. His evidence in date may be regarded as relating to a time which he remembered, but was long past when he wrote, therefore probably not later than A.D. 70. At that time, the Christians had Matthew as a written Gospel, cf. the quotations in the *Didache*. The alleged special accuracy of Oriental Memories is to me more than doubtful. Sir William Muir’s account of the special selected traditions concerning Mohammed is evidence of this. Mr. Roberts has not advanced any evidence that “in Christian circles” Rome was “known as Babylon.” Clement writes from Rome, not from Babylon, to the Corinthian Church. Ignatius, a score or so years later, writes to “Rome,” not by the pseudonym of “Babylon.” There is an ambiguous phrase in “the ascension of Isaiah,” which, while capable of being understood as identifying Babylon with Rome, is susceptible of another and more logical interpretation. Moreover, “the Ascension of Isaiah” is an “apocalypse,” while the first Epistle of Peter is not. Dunedin is a poetical name for Edinburgh. Were I dating a letter so, my correspondent would think I had emigrated to New Zealand, unless the letter were in verse. Peter, in his epistle, is not an apocalyptic. While the Sinaitic palimpsest is older than the M.S. discovered by Dr. Cureton, it represents the same recension, as indicated by the use made of it by Dr. Burkitt in his *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*. St. Matthew’s Gospel was only “Jewish” in this respect, that it was directed to meet the prejudices of the Jews.

I agree with Dr. Schofield’s remarks on the Matthaean account of our Lord’s birth. Personally, I think Mary must have had no brothers, else they would have taken notice of her condition before marriage. She probably was an heiress, whose residence was in Bethlehem, but came to be betrothed to Joseph in Nazareth. As an heiress, she would be obliged to marry into her own family, hence it was necessary that she should accompany her husband to Bethlehem. Thus, it was needless to show her connection with Davidic stem. The relation of the Lucan genealogy with the Matthaean has already been wrought out in the article on that subject in Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible,” by Lord Arthur Herve. Luke’s gives the natural actual genealogy, whereas Matthew’s is the legal, in which are combined the natural and the adopted descendants.

With what Rev. J. J. B. Coles says I am in agreement.

I value the agreement which Col. Mackinlay expresses to some extent with my thesis, from his careful study of the Gospel of Luke. However, it is the points in which we differ that I have at present to consider. My acquaintance with bi-lingualism is with it as it appears in the Scottish Highlands. The example of our Premier is very pertinent. I may have been unguarded in my statement in regard to the book of Esther, but my reference was to Haman's statement (Esther iii. 8), in which he calls the Jews "a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed in all provinces of thy kingdom." One need not be anxious to maintain Haman's accuracy. I venture to doubt Col. Mackinlay's statement that the Magi were probably Jews. The Jews would not desire to be reckoned Magians, nor would the Magians receive them. They were a hereditary priesthood.

In Rev. Mr. Marsh's remarks, I am interested, but do not find anything to answer.

To Mr. Sidney Collett's objection that there is too much hypothesis and tradition about my theory, I would recall him to what I say on page 178, that Papias' evidence really makes the view that Matthew wrote in Hebrew and was the primary Gospel as much history as is the belief that Marathon was a Persian defeat. In regard to my saying that St. Peter corrected Matthew, I do not know how Mr. Collett would explain how Matthew (x. 10) represents our Lord forbidding "staves" *rabdous* in *Receptus* (*Shabta, Peshitta*), while Mark says, "Save a staff only." Again, Matthew says our Lord forbids *shoes*, "sandals," that is, whereas in Mark the Apostles are bidden to be shod with "sandals." These differences have all the appearance of being corrections. There are many other cases of similar phenomena. If Paul might correct Peter's conduct, (Gal. ii. 11) surely Peter might correct Matthew's statements.

I welcome Mr. Hoste's testimony in regard to the authenticity of Daniel. It is glaringly unlikely that the Jews of our Lord's day would accept as ancient a book forged so recently as the days of the Maccabeans.

I am afraid I cannot agree with Mr. Avary Forbes in believing that Greek was generally known east of the Euphrates. I have in this matter the authority of Dr. Burkitt on my side. He declares that the barrier of language is the main reason why we know so little of the history of the Eastern Church. It is quite true that Alexander wished to cause an amalgamation of races when he promoted marriages between his soldiers and Persian women. This would not tend to spread Greek. The children of such marriages would speak Persian. A case in point is to be found in Canada. Early last century, a number of Scotch Highland soldiers were placed in lower Canada as colonists. They married French-Canadian wives. Their descendants now all speak French, and are Romanists.

645th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B,
THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, on Monday,
June 12th, 1922, at 4.30 p.m.

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. MACKINLAY in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of Mr. John C. Procter as an Associate.

Lieut.-Colonel Mackinlay, as Chairman, said: Miss Hodgkin has been an Associate of the Victoria Institute for several years, and she is a constant attendant at the reading of the papers, but this is the first time she has read a paper here herself. She is not, however, unversed in literary matters, as she has written an excellent book, "Christ in all the Scriptures," which not only has a wide circulation in English, but has also been translated into Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, French and German; she is also co-Editor of the "Friends' Witness," which is valued by Bible students, containing many articles which combat the false teachings of Modernism: this periodical frequently quotes the papers of our Institute, and Miss Hodgkin has written a good article in the last issue, which draws very favourable attention to our "Tracts for New Times," a service which only an Editor is able to render. We thank her warmly for this help. I will now ask Miss Hodgkin to read her paper.

THE WITNESS OF ARCHÆOLOGY TO THE BIBLE.

By Miss A. M. HODGKIN.

The little land of Palestine has for centuries been an isolated country. Now a network of railways is fast linking it up with East and West, and it is once more becoming the centre of the world. Before long it will be easier for all mankind to visit Jerusalem than any other place on this earth. Its importance from a military and from a commercial point of view is realised by politicians, but the Bible student sees in all this a fulfilment of prophecy. A great future awaits this land.

In ancient times Palestine was likewise the centre of the world. Dr. Masterman writes:—"It was in no out-of-the-way corner of the earth that the race, through whom revelation came, was located by the Divine purpose, but in the very turmoil of the strife of nations, buffeted between the smaller nations in the immediate neighbourhood—the Philistines, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, the Syrians, and the restless children of the Desert, and ground between the interchange of blow upon blow between Assyria and Babylonia, or the Græco-Syrian Empire of the Seleucidæ and Egypt. How small and how weak a race they were in almost all their history we realise as they appear as two small states, among many others, in the monuments. And yet God prepared this race, as He moulds the choicest individual characters of His saints—in the furnace of

affliction. . . . All light thrown on Oriental ancient history has made it increasingly evident how important was Palestine as a meeting-place of all the great civilisations and races of the ancient world." * *

"This is Jerusalem. I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her." Ezek. v. 5.

Geographically, Palestine occupies a central position between the three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. Draw a straight line from Jerusalem to Rome; then describe a circle with Jerusalem as the centre and this line as the radius. You will find that circle includes all the great nations of the ancient world; the four world-empires of Nebuchadnezzar's dream—Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome; the great nation of Egypt, and all the lesser kingdoms of "the world as known to the ancients." †

"When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." Deut. xxxii. 8. The little nation of Israel was "set in the midst." It touched the life of these nations at every point, and was continually coming in contact with them. Its history, as contained in the Bible, is full of allusions to each of these other nations. Such allusions are a challenge to the truthfulness of the Scripture record. If we find them proved true by the contemporary records of those nations the evidence goes a long way to establish the integrity of Scripture; for the work of an impostor is not likely to be accurate in its details.

The lands inhabited by the ancient nations of the world contain priceless archæological treasures bearing upon history as recorded in the Bible. But till quite lately these treasures were inaccessible, from the fact that the inscriptions were written in languages which no one living could read. They might be compared to precious archives hidden in a locked casket of which the key was lost.

In most remarkable ways one after another of the keys has been found, and found at the moment when the archives were most needed as witnesses to the accuracy of the Scripture record; found, moreover, in such a manner that we cannot but regard the discoveries as providential, rather than accidental.

Foremost among these keys stands the Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum, discovered in 1798 by a French engineer named Broussard, near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, and

Institute, Vol. XLIX., p. 218.

* "Land of Palestine," by Dr. E. W. Masterman, *Journal of Victoria*

† See an article by Rev. Andrew Craig Robinson, in "Friends' Witness," Vol. X., p. 5.

acquired by the British after the wars with Napoleon, more valuable than any military trophy as it has unlocked to the modern world the language of the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian monuments.

Second in date, and probably equal in importance, stands Sir Henry Rawlinson's discovery and deciphering of the Behistun Inscription on the great rock in Kurdistan, where he was stationed in 1835, as a young officer of the East India Company. The account of the discovery, as given in his Biography, is full of thrilling interest, describing how he climbed the bare precipitous rock three or four times a day for many days together.* The inscription was a proclamation of Darius the Great in three languages, ancient Persian, Assyrian and Babylonian, all in the wedge-shaped cuneiform script. One portion was said to be unapproachable, even by the practised native cragsmen. But at length a wild Kurdish boy from a distance, "hanging on with his toes and fingers to the slight inequalities on the bare face of the precipice," succeeded in fixing for himself a swinging seat, from which perilous position he took a paper cast of the inscription. This Behistun inscription has been called "The Rosetta Stone of Cuneiform Discovery," and is the key which was to unlock the treasures of the Royal Library of Nineveh, discovered ten years later by Sir Henry Layard, and countless other specimens of the peculiar wedge-formed writing in common use centuries before Abraham, from Elam on the East to the Mediterranean on the west, and from the Caspian Sea on the north to Arabia on the south.

This is the language of the famous Tel-el-Amarna tablets discovered fifty years later by a seeming accident. A peasant woman, passing near some mounds in the south of Egypt, chanced to turn up a tile with her foot. The brick had writing on it, and thus "at last, in 1887, came a discovery which revolutionised our conceptions of ancient Oriental history, and made the assumption of ancient Oriental illiteracy henceforth an impossibility."†

Meanwhile, in 1869, another key was discovered, this time by a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Dr. Klein. This was the Moabite Stone, inscribed in letters of the Phœnician alphabet, giving us the precise mode of writing employed by the earlier prophets of the Old Testament. Further illustration of this style of writing was obtained by the discovery of the Siloam Inscription in 1880. A native boy, wading with others in the pool of Siloam, accidentally slipped, and fell into deeper water. He saw some strange letters on the side of the rocky channel, and

* "Memoir of Sir Henry C. Rawlinson," pp. 59, 155.

† "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies," p. 36. Prof. Sayce.

reported it to his teacher, Herr Schick. The inscription describes the meeting of the workmen in the tunnel (1,700 feet long) which they were excavating, and how they heard each other's picks at work, and cut through the intervening rock. We have in II. Chron., xxxii., an account of the making by Hezekiah of what is generally believed to be the same conduit, in order to prevent the water supply of the city falling into the hands of the invaders.

The Greek Papyri, discovered in Egypt, have provided a key to the better understanding of New Testament Greek. Searching for archæological treasures the explorers came across a number of mummified crocodiles. The apparent worthlessness of the find, and the great number of these crocodiles, so exasperated the men, that they broke one of them to pieces and disclosed the surprising fact that the creature was wrapped in sheets of papyrus. The result was a systematic search through the crocodile cemetery, and the discovery of many valuable papyri of the second century B.C.

The keys having been found, we can now call upon the nations one by one to give their witness to the truth of the Bible record. But before doing so, let us see what the land of Palestine itself has to give in the way of evidence.

Dr. Masterman tells us that, "the light thrown directly on the Bible by investigations in the Holy Land has been out of all proportion to the extent of the excavations, and without doubt more important discoveries yet lie hidden under the heaped up dust of many 'tells.'"

The Rev. James Neil, who was chaplain to Bishop Gobat, the first bishop of Jerusalem, was in that city in the early days of the Palestine Exploration Society, when a band of young men under Lieutenant Conder began operations. Charles Terry Drake, a descendant of Admiral Drake, was acting as dragoman. He was at that time sceptical in his views of Christianity, but would exclaim to Mr. Neil, "It is wonderful: here we are, testing the Bible as it has never been tested before. Often we think we find it wrong; but as sure as we stop about three weeks in a place, in every case we find the Bible minutely accurate." This went on for about three years, and then Drake died at his post, leaving a clear testimony to his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"The land and the Book," continues Mr. Neil, "answer to one another like the two parts of an indenture. The ancient, unchanged life of the Holy Land, its manners and customs, natural features and colloquial speech—truly, a divinely preserved commentary—everywhere throws light upon the letter of Holy Scripture, confirming its verbal accuracy and elucidating its meaning." As an instance of this he tells us that there

are eight different words for *valley* in Hebrew, each having a distinct technical meaning. The Exploration Society invariably found that the valleys they identified corresponded to the form indicated by the special Scripture word in each case.**

Professor Macalister's excavation of the city of Gezer, 1902-1905, is another good illustration, in the remarkable number of confirmations of the Bible found in this "Mound of Surprises." The same may be said of Jericho. The objection has been raised that it would be impossible for an army to march round a great city seven times in one day. But this objection, like so many others, vanishes on the spot, for the ruins of Jericho show it to be a collection of tiny dwellings compactly crowded together on such a scale that you can easily walk round the foundations in half an hour or less.

The Bible is the best Guide Book to Palestine. The fact that it was in such request among our British soldiers is a proof of this.

"Correctness concerning the place of an event is the first and most important mark of a true narrative of real happenings. And there is nothing in ancient history so completely confirmed and so universally accepted as the trustworthiness of the geographical and topographical indications of Scripture."†

THE JEW AND THE ARAB.

There are two living witnesses to-day to the truth of God's Word—the Jew and the Arab—Isaac and Ishmael, both sons of Abraham, sharing between them the fulfilment of the promise that his seed should be as the dust of the earth that cannot be numbered.

Brothers, alike, yet so dissimilar, the Jew "scattered among the nations," yet "not reckoned among them," "oppressed and spoiled evermore." The Arab, "a wild man, his hand against every man," he sojourns but for a time, and rolls up his goat's-hair home, packs it on the back of his camel with all his household goods, and is off with his flocks and herds to fresh pasture. He has left no ruined palaces nor inscriptions on the monuments; the next wind of the desert obliterates even his footprints on the sand; but he himself is with us still, a witness second only to the Jew to the truth of the Bible.

THE WITNESS OF ANCIENT BABYLONIA.

"It would be difficult," writes Dr. Orr, "to exaggerate the brilliance and importance of the marvellous discoveries in Babylonia. The point which concerns us chiefly is the extraordinary

* "The Witness of the Land," Rev. J. Neil, M.A., in "Friends' Witness," Vol. I., p. 8. 1908.

† "The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism." by M. G. Kyle, LL.D., pp. 49, 51.

light thrown on the high culture of early Babylonia. Here, long before the time of Abraham, we find ourselves in the midst of cities, arts, letters, books, libraries; and Abraham's own age—that of Hammurabi—was the bloom tide of this civilisation. Instead of Israel being a people emerging from the dim dawn of barbarism, we find in the light of these discoveries, that it was a people on whom from its own standpoint the ends of the earth had come. . . . I read sometimes with astonishment of the statement that Babylonian discovery has done little or nothing for the confirmation of these old parts of Genesis.

“Take that old tenth chapter of Genesis, the ‘Table of Nations.’ Professor Kautzsch, of Halle, a critic of note, says of that old table, ‘The so-called Table of Nations remains, according to all results of monumental exploration, an ethnographic original document of the first rank which nothing can replace.’ In this tenth chapter of Genesis, verses 8-10, we have certain statements about the origin of Babylonian civilization. We learn (1) that Babylonia is the oldest of civilizations; (2) that Assyrian civilization was derived from Babylonia; and (3) strangest of all, that the founders of Babylonian civilization were not Semites, but Hamites—descendants of Cush. Each of these statements was in contradiction to old classical notices and to what was currently believed till recently about those ancient people. Yet it will not be disputed that exploration has justified the Bible on each of these points. Assyria, undoubtedly, was younger than Babylonia; it derived its civilization, arts, religion, institutions, all that it had, from Babylonia. Strangest of all, the originators of Babylonian civilization, the Accadians, or Sumerians, were a people, not of Semitic, but apparently of Turanian or what the Bible would call Hamitic stock.”*

“The transformation of opinion is revolutionary. The effect has been most marked on archæologists themselves. Sayce, Hommel, Halévy, all formerly advocates of the critical view, have abandoned it.”†

The cuneiform script of the Babylonians was not only the language of diplomacy and commerce, but the vast correspondence which has come down to us on the clay tablets shows that letters passed to and fro among the common people on the most trivial subjects. Evidence has been found of the establishment of a postal system in Babylonia extending to its Palestine province in the days of Naram-Sin, many centuries before the time of Abraham.**

* “The Fundamentals,” Vol. VI, p. 90.

† Dr. Orr, “The Problem of the Old Testament,” p. 397.

** “The Deciding Voice of the Monuments,” p. 84

"The Babylonia of the age of Abraham was a more highly educated country than the England of George III." "From one end of the civilized ancient world to the other men and women were reading and writing and corresponding with one another; schools abounded and great libraries were formed, in an age which the 'critic' only a few years ago dogmatically declared was almost wholly illiterate."†

From the Tel-el-Amarna tablets we find that even the Egyptian court had to use this language when corresponding with its Asiatic provinces. If Dr. Naville is right in his very interesting paper for the Victoria Institute,** in believing that Moses wrote the Pentateuch in cuneiform script on clay tablets, it will prove a very awkward fact for the critics. The idea, as he says, had already been put forward by Col. Conder and Professor Sayce. The latter gives several instances to show that "behind the present Hebrew text of certain portions of the Old Testament lies an earlier text in the language of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets."††

The discovery of the Code of Hammurabi, a contemporary of Abraham, proves that such a code as that of Moses was more than possible. "That Babylonian law should have been already codified in the age of Abraham deprives the 'critical' theory, which makes the Mosaic Law posterior to the Prophets, of one of its two main supports. The theory was based on two denials—that writing was used for literary purposes in the time of Moses, and that a legal code was possible before the period of the Jewish kings. The discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets disproves the first assumption: the discovery of the Code of Hammurabi has disproved the second. Centuries before Moses the law had already been codified, and the Semitic populations had long been familiar with the conception of a code."*

The Assyrian tablets containing the legends of Creation and of the Deluge show a debased polytheism. Comparing the Creation tablets with the first chapter of Genesis, Prof. Pinches writes, "The important point is, that there is very little in all this that implies borrowing, as has been stated, on the part of the writer of the book of Genesis. In the opinion of the Babylonians the heavens and the earth came into existence and were not created . . . there is no appearance of the Deity as the first and only cause of the existence of things. . . . The simple theology which appears in the book of Genesis did not, there-

† Prof. Sayce in "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies," pp. 35, 42.

** "V.I.," Vol. XLVII., p. 337.

†† "Homiletic Review," 1910.

* Prof. Sayce, "Monument Facts," p. 69.

fore, exist with the Babylonians and Assyrians, but gave place to a clever and attractive cosmological theory. . . . Notwithstanding all that Freethinkers and others may say, *it was not the source of the Creation story in Genesis, which remains on a pinnacle all its own.*"**

In a discussion in the Victoria Institute in 1912, Mrs. Maunder, who is an authority on Babylonia, made the following statement:—"To speak of these writings as being influenced by Babylonian conceptions, when there is no trace of Babylonian sorcery in them, is to speak in ignorance of what Babylonian conceptions really were. The whole Bible is clean as driven snow from the Babylonian imprint."

The account of the Deluge in the book of Genesis is cited by the critics as being perhaps the strongest instance of a composite narrative, in which the stories of the two hypothetical writers, the "Jehovist," and the "Elohists," who wrote, according to Dr. Driver, in the "early centuries of the monarchy," are combined together. Here the Babylonian Story of the Flood steps in as a witness. It goes back in its present form to the age of Abraham, and when we compare it with the account in Genesis we find that it agrees with both the so-called Jehovistic and Elohist writers. As therefore the Babylonian account of the Deluge agrees with the Biblical version as a whole, and as it goes back to an age long anterior to Moses, it proves that even the narrative in which the marks of composite authorship are supposed to be clearest is not really composite. "In the 'critical' theory of the origin of the Biblical narrative of the great catastrophe, archæology thus compels us to see only a philological mirage."*

The history of the campaign of Chedor-laomer against Sodom, in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, has been questioned as historically impossible. But the very names of the kings mentioned in that chapter have been identified, the Amraphel of Genesis proving to be the Hammurabi who was reigning in Babylon at the time. Prof. Sayce says "It is one more illustration of the fact that 'critical' difficulties and objections commonly turn out to be the result of the imperfection of our own knowledge. Archæological research is constantly demonstrating how dangerous it is to question or deny the veracity of tradition or of an ancient record until we know all the facts." "There is only one admissible test of the authenticity and trustworthiness of an ancient record, and that is an archæologi-

** Prof. Finches, 'The Babylonian Creation Stories' in "Friends' Witness." Vol. II., p. 5.

* "Archæological Facts," Prof. Sayce. pp. 20, 49, 53.

cal test"—in other words, the test of "contemporaneous evidence." "Wherever archæology has been able to test the negative conclusions of criticism, they have dissolved like a bubble in the air."*

THE WITNESS OF EGYPT.

Fresh to-day, as when they left the hand of the painter, the frescoes on the ancient tombs of Egypt give us a complete picture of the life in that far off time. The vividness of the colouring is a true reflection of the fascination that the stories of Joseph and of Moses had for us as little children. The whole atmosphere of Egypt was real and living to us. We could not have put it into words, but we felt we were in a different land from Canaan. Pharaoh's bakemeats, his cup, the great river, the rushes, the frogs, the locusts, the seven kine—fat-fleshed and well-favoured—the brick-making, the treasure cities, the granaries—all these made up the Egypt of our childhood's imagination, and they are there true to life as revealed in the monuments and the frescoes of the past. There is hardly a sentence in the Bible account which we do not find reflected in some form through modern discovery. They answer to each other as the wax impression answers to the engraving on a seal.

The value of this sense of atmosphere, or *imagery*, in its witness to the truth of the Bible, is well brought out by Dr. Kyle. Imagery supplies flesh and blood and the breath of life to the picture, and something more—it supplies that which in a person we call the *countenance*. And when we find the imagery of a book correct, it goes a long way to commend its trustworthiness by giving it a good countenance.

How could a writer living hundreds of years later, in a country many miles away, have drawn a picture so accurate in its minutest details? The account could only have been written by one who had lived amidst the scenes described. Moreover, the presence of a number of Egyptian words in the Pentateuch, without any explanation of their meaning, is evidence that those for whom it was written could understand Egyptian. The word "abrek" correctly translated "bow the knee" in the Bible, was long a puzzle to scholars as they assumed it to be a Hebrew word, and it seemed to bear no relation to Hebrew. But it is an Egyptian word, and therefore was familiar enough to the Israelites. It remains in the living speech of Egypt to-day; when the Arab wishes his camel to kneel he says, "abrok!"

The fact that the throne of Egypt was occupied by an alien and Semitic race—the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings—is not men-

* Prof. Sayce, "Monument Facts," pp. 60, 14, 11, 25.

tioned, for it was well known by the people for whom the account was written. But it explains several things which otherwise would have been unintelligible to us, such as the royal reception accorded to Abraham, and again to Isaac; it accounts for the mention that Potiphar, a high official was an *Egyptian*; for Joseph's instruction to his brethren to tell the king that they were shepherds, and for the king making them rulers over his cattle.

The Egyptian colouring of the dreams is striking. Formerly the mention of wine was used to discredit Genesis, as the cultivation of the vine and its use in Egypt was denied by Herodotus. But the frescoes picture the vintage in all its details, even to the grapes being pressed into Pharaoh's cup as he holds it in his hand, just as recorded in the chief butler's dream.

The whole process of baking is also portrayed, down to the carrying of the "bakemeats" in baskets on the head. One record describes the chief baker as delivering more than a hundred thousand loaves at a time for the use of the royal household.

Pharaoh's dreams were exactly calculated to make the deepest impression upon him. The Nile was the life of Egypt, on its overflow depended the fertility of the land. The gods Osiris and Isis, symbolized by a bull and a cow, were associated with its rise and its overflow. They were sometimes represented as accompanied each by seven cows. Seven-eared wheat was well known in Egypt.

The plagues which were sent upon Pharaoh were directed against the gods of Egypt. The conflict was thus in reality a war between the powers of light and of darkness.

On the walls of a tomb at Thebes there is an accurate picture of such bondage as the Israelites endured. The features of the workmen seem to be Semitic. All the processes of brick-making are represented, including the Egyptian task-master with his rod, and he is saying to the workmen, "The stick is in my hand; be not idle."

Pharaoh's treasure cities, Pithom and Rameses, are mentioned on the monuments, and the remains of both have been discovered.

Each reference in later Bible history to kings of Egypt fits with the monarch known to be reigning there at that particular time.

Professor Petrie's discovery of the site of Tahpanhes, a fortified palace and outpost on the borders of Egypt, is a remarkable confirmation of Jeremiah's account of his forced flight thither. At the entrance of the fort Prof. Petrie found a large platform of brickwork, and he writes:—"This platform, or *mastaba*, is therefore unmistakably the brickwork, or pavement, which is

at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes. Here the ceremony described by Jeremiah (of hiding the stones) took place before the chiefs of the fugitives assembled on the platform; and here Nebuchadnezzar spread his royal pavilion. The very nature of the site is precisely applicable to all the events."

The predicted overthrow of this stronghold occurred so suddenly that Prof. Petrie found the kitchen with the jars in their accustomed place, and even the fish bones left in the scullery sink.

THE WITNESS OF THE HITTITES.

We are told in the Second Book of Kings (vii. 6), that when the Syrians were camped about Samaria and the Lord sent a panic among them, "they said one to another, 'Lo, the King of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us.'"

At one time this statement was discredited as being altogether unhistorical. The Hittite Empire was unknown in history, and it was considered evidence of the greatest ignorance to compare the Hittites for a moment with the power of Egypt.

But by means of the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the cuneiform inscriptions, this lost empire has been brought to light. The pictures on the monuments have made us familiar with the Hittites, or Kheta as the Egyptians called them, with their ugly faces and peaked caps; with their snow boots, turned up at the toes, and their long fingerless gloves, witnessing eloquently to the cold of their northern home among the mountains of Kappadokia and Taurus; and their own sculptures discovered in Asia Minor and various other regions, show that the Egyptians did them no injustice in their representation of their features.

This long-forgotten nation existed nineteen centuries before Christ, and lasted for more than a thousand years. It extended its sway from the Ægean in the west to Lake Van in the east, with Carchemish as its capital. It pushed southwards through Syria and Palestine and proved a formidable foe to Egypt. During the long reign of Rameses the Great there was a ceaseless struggle between the two nations, bringing disaster and ruin on the cities of Canaan, their land being devastated by the hostile armies. We can understand now why the Canaanites offered so slight a resistance to the invading Israelites.

When a lasting peace was concluded with Rameses, its conditions show that "the great king of the Hittites" treated on equal terms with the great king of Egypt, and the treaty was

* See Urquhart's "Biblical Guide," Vol. VII., p. 101.

sealed by the marriage of the Pharaoh with the daughter of the Hittite king.*

"Hittites! Hittites!" With these words a young school-master used to be greeted by the boys whenever he came into their class-room. For he had fired their imagination by stories of this great empire, recovered by the monuments from oblivion; and they were always eager to hear more. If only the children in our schools, and the theological students in our colleges were taught the facts of archæology instead of the theories of "higher criticism," there would be fewer lives shipwrecked through the undermining of their faith in God's Word.

"In dealing with the history of the past," writes Professor Sayce, "we are confronted with two utterly opposed methods, one objective, the other subjective, one resting on a basis of veritable facts, the other on the unsupported and unsupportable assumptions of the modern scholar. The one is the method of archæology, the other of the so-called 'higher criticism.' Between the two the scientifically trained mind can have no hesitation in choosing."†

Eardmans, successor to Kuenen at Leyden, "definitely and absolutely breaks with the Wellhausen School of criticism, chiefly on the ground that archæology has discredited their critical viewpoint, and made impossible, indeed absurd, the historical atmosphere with which they surround the Old Testament. He says, 'To sum up in conclusion, I believe that an explanation of the text from the standpoint of the old Israelitic thought will lead to a reformation in Old Testament criticism.'"‡

THE WITNESS OF EDM.

The romance of travel and exploration centres round a city the very site of which was lost to the civilized world for centuries. "A rose-red city, half as old as time," a city hidden away in the heart of Mount Seir; a city not built but hewn out of the sides of the many-coloured sandstone rock—such is Petra, or Sela, the strong city of Edom, mentioned under various names more often in the Bible than any other city except Jerusalem.

The refusal of the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, to allow the Israelites to pass through their territory, led to a perpetual feud between the two nations. Their malignity in joining with Nebuchadnezzar in sacking Jerusalem led to the

* "The Hittites, The Story of a Forgotten Empire," Prof. Sayce.

† "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies," Prof. Sayce, pp. 17, 18.

‡ "The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism," Dr. Kyle, p. 15.

prophecy of Obadiah against their land. "There shall not be any remaining to the house of Esau: for the Lord hath spoken it." At the present day it is impossible to identify any remnant of the Edomites. Mr. Arthur Sutton, after his visit to Petra, wrote as follows:—"It is a very solemn experience to stand, as we stood, amidst such desolation, and witness all around us the accurate fulfilment of the prophecies, foretelling God's righteous judgment upon peoples who have long since passed into eternity."†

THE WITNESS OF MOAB.

Among the numerous silent witnesses to the truth of the Bible narrative, none is more remarkable than the famous Moabite Stone. Almost every line of the inscription has some link with the geography or history of the Bible, illustrating many points which had been obscure. It records the wars of Mesha, king of Moab, with Omri, king of Israel, and with the Edomites. It is full of references to the national god Chemosh, which the Bible repeatedly tells us was the god of Moab. The name of Jehovah occurs on the monument.

The stone answers an objection which has been made with respect to the antiquity of certain portions of the Bible written in acrostic form, beginning with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet in its old Phœnician characters. It was contended that several of these letters had not been invented at the date assigned to these Scriptures. But the Moabite Stone presents the same twenty-two letters at a period even earlier than those portions of Scripture.

Bishop Walsh concludes his account of this stone in the following words:—

"Mesha's haughty chronicle on the stone of Dibon was written to glorify himself, and to vaunt against the name and the people of the Lord; but it survives to bear witness of Jehovah's power, and it comes forth after the lapse of nearly thirty centuries, as an unexpected and unintentional witness to His truth."*

THE WITNESS OF ASSYRIA.

The witness of an enemy is sometimes more telling than that of a friend. Such an enemy the countries of Israel and Judah found in the mighty Assyrian Empire, fierce, cruel and relentless.

† "Friends' Witness," Vol. I., p. 21. 1908.

* "Echoes of Bible History," Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Ossory and Ferns, p. 248.

Dr. Orr says, "It is a striking fact that there is hardly a single point of contact with foreign powers in the period of the kings which does not receive illustration from the monuments."

This is especially the case with regard to Assyria. The black obelisk of Shalmaneser, now in the British Museum, represents Jehu, king of Israel, prostrating himself before Shalmaneser in the act of paying tribute. It records between twenty and thirty campaigns of the great Assyrian king. Three of these were against Benhadad and a fourth against Hazael, kings of Damascus, all of them agreeing with Bible history.

"Considering the countless millions of persons and events in those ancient millenniums, the wonder is that, among the comparatively small number mentioned in the Bible, any of them should have appeared in archæological research."*

We notice this again in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III., under whom the Assyrian Empire rose once more into power. He mentions six kings who are named in the Bible. It was he who introduced the new policy of carrying away captive to Assyria the original populations of conquered countries, placing in their stead populations likewise carried from a far distance, over whom he placed Assyrian officials. We have a well-known illustration of this in the case of Samaria.

Writing of Sennacherib and Hezekiah, Prof. Sayce says:—"The Assyrian and the Biblical accounts supplement one another. Sennacherib naturally glosses over the disaster that befell him in Palestine . . . but he cannot conceal the fact that he never succeeded in taking the revolted city or in punishing Hezekiah as he had punished other rebel kings, nor did he again undertake a campaign in the west."†

The excavations at Nineveh have proved its vast extent and confirm Jonah's estimate of it, just as we have already seen the excavations at Jericho confirmed the Bible hint as to the smallness of that city. Prof. Rawlinson has pointed out that at the time of Jonah Nineveh was undergoing what seemed to be a final eclipse. Thus the time was ripe for Jonah's message.

THE WITNESS OF THE FOUR WORLD-EMPIRES.

We must briefly consider the witness of the four great world-empires of Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

The fact that there have been these four world-empires—just four and never another, notwithstanding the efforts of ambitious conquerors—is in itself a witness to the truth of the Bible, and confirms us in the belief that there will never be a fifth univer-

* "The Deciding Voice of the Monuments," p. 107.

† "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," p. 116.

sal dominion till the Stone cut out without hands shall smite the image, and He shall come whose right it is, and take unto Him His great power and reign, and the earth shall be full of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

THE SECOND BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.

If the critics can be said to have been entirely unanimous about anything, that one thing is their common judgment regarding Daniel. Its supposed late date—about 168 B.C. under Antiochus Epiphanes—and its unhistorical character, have been confidently asserted. But Assyriologists have a good deal to say about this matter, and much that has been set down as fable turns out to be fact.

The presence of certain Greek words in this book were held to make it impossible for it to have been written until "after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia through the conquests of Alexander the Great." The supposed Greek words never numbered more than eleven, and now, through the progress of the study of languages, the words that are actually Greek have been reduced to the names of two, or at the most three, instruments of music. It was held that it was impossible for these instruments to have found their way into Babylon in B.C. 600. But the widespread intercourse between East and West before that time is now fully admitted, and Prof. Petrie, speaking of the city of Tahpanhes in Egypt, with its Greek colony, says that "probably many a *kaithros*, *psanterin*, and *sumphonyah*, as they called the Greek musical instruments, had been traded over to Jerusalem, and were well known before we find them in Jewish literature."* Moreover, the seven-stringed harp, invented by the Greek poet Terpander, is sculptured upon a monument of Assurbanipal's. That monarch died in 625 B.C. Thus we have certain knowledge that it reached the Babylonian court within twenty-five years of its invention!†

The personality of Nebuchadnezzar has been familiar to us from childhood, but the book of Daniel is the only literature that gives it to us. There we see his regal spirit, his love of display, his pride in his buildings; and the fact that, though an idolator and a polytheist, yet he brings the sacred vessels into "the house of his god," as though he were a monotheist.

The character thus drawn is abundantly confirmed by the monuments. He has one favourite god, Bel-Merodach, and his inscriptions are mostly occupied with praises of this deity. "Merodach, the great lord, has appointed me to the empire of

* "Egypt and Israel," p. 88.

† See Urquhart's "New Biblical Guide," Vol. VIII., p. 249. He quotes from Lenoirant.

the world." The rest of his inscriptions nearly all relate to his immense building operations. "*To astonish mankind*, I reconstructed and renewed the wonder of Borsippa, the temple of the seven spheres of the world." The boast is echoed in the book of Daniel. "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"

• The Arabs have been using, and still use the ruins of Babylon as a huge quarry, carrying off the bricks to sell to others for building purposes. Nine out of every ten of these bricks are stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar. Specimens may be seen in the British Museum.

The palace school at Babylon, the fact that captive princes were trained there; the court customs of officials, the enumeration of the different classes of the wise men of Babylon; the Babylonian imagery of the dreams and visions; the garments mentioned; the method of punishment for impiety against the gods by burning alive in a furnace, and of casting men to the lions as an instrument of royal vengeance—all these details, recorded so vividly in the book of Daniel, reappear in the records of the monuments of the great city of Babylon.

How could a writer of fiction in the second century B.C. possibly have reproduced so faithful a picture of the life of a city in the seventh century B.C. when the civilization of that city had been overthrown for four hundred years?

THE EMPIRE OF MEDO-PERSIA.

The second world-empire was a double one, corresponding to the breast and arms of the image, and to the ram with two horns of Daniel's vision (Dan. viii. 20). "The ram which thou sawest with two horns are the kings of Media and Persia."

Who was "Darius the Median"? He is unknown in secular history. There was a coin in use among the Persians called the *Daric*. A note to a play by Aristophanes says that the *Darics* were named not from Darius the father of Xerxes, but from another *more ancient king*." A new dynasty no doubt made a new coinage expedient. The Rev. Andrew Craig Robinson, in his interesting paper for the Victoria Institute last December, brings out very clearly his view that Xenophon and the cuneiform inscriptions are agreed in telling us that Darius is Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus, and that he shared the double kingdom with his nephew. Prof. Pinches, who was acting as chairman, said that "the Babylonian inscriptions only speak of Gobryas—there is no reference to Cyaxares as either king or even governor of Babylon." But he added that further discoveries in the East may, however, modify his conclusions.

Dr. Kyle hazards the suggestion that "it is not at all impossible that the Cyaxares of Xenophon, Gobryas of Nabonidus, and 'Darius the Mede,' are one and the same person. He would be a hardy critic indeed, who would dare to say that 'Darius the Mede' is impossible."*

We do well to remember that Belshazzar was at one time considered an impossibility, before the inscriptions confirmed his mention in Daniel.

Ezra gives us the decree of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. The Annalistic Tablet, discovered by Prof. Pinches, tells how Cyrus collected and restored various peoples to their habitations, and returned the gods, whom Nabonidus had brought to Babylon, in peace to their own sanctuaries. These two accounts are in full agreement. In the case of the Israelites, who had no idols, the sacred vessels of the temple are restored.

The cuneiform inscription at Persepolis identifies the Ahasuerus of Esther with Xerxes; and the book of Esther gives us a picture of that monarch in his home which corresponds exactly with his character in history in his life abroad. To have pictured this unique personality on an entirely different field, 200 years after the event, as the critics suggest, and with every line of the picture corresponding to the palace at Shushan, which had meanwhile been destroyed, seems indeed beyond the power of fiction.

The French explorer, Dieulafoy, excavated the whole of this palace, and every detail throws light upon the book of Esther, and proves its historic accuracy. The scenes recorded fit the palace at Shushan as they would fit no other known palace of the ancient world, and the customs described fit no other court than that of Persia.

THE EMPIRE OF GREECE.

The witness of the Grecian Empire to the Old Testament is a negative one.

We have already seen that the presence of two or three Greek words in the book of Daniel does not prove it to have been written after the conquests of Alexander the Great. But inversely, the absence of Greek words—except these two—and of Greek thought and influence is a strong argument against the book of Daniel having been written at a time when the eastern world was saturated with Greek thought.

With regard to the New Testament the evidence is positive. The view that New Testament Greek was corrupt and ungrammatical, and that the idioms were the result of over-literal

* "The Deciding Voice of the Monuments," p. 289

translations of Hebrew, has been greatly modified if not abandoned by the recent discoveries of Greek papyri among the rubbish heaps of Egypt. The unearthing of business letters and documents, private epistles, even love-letters, ill-spelt petitions and accounts of Greek-speaking farmers in upper Egypt, have proved that these idioms are those of people who could not by any possibility have been brought under the influence of Hebrew thought.

The papyri have given us the everyday language of the common people of that time, and though it differed from classic Greek, it had a widespread, varied and cultured usage.* It was the language by which the Holy Spirit "could make Himself understood everywhere by the masses to whom His revelation came." (Moulton). We may well believe that the fact of the New Testament being written in Greek implies that the Spirit of God handed the Truth over to Gentile custodians when the Jews, as a nation had rejected their Messiah.† That language, with its power of conveying delicate shades of thought, its precision, and flexibility and rich fulness has become the channel of divine revelation to us in the New Testament.

"When Greece went forth, under Alexander the Great, to conquer the East, the union of oriental and occidental was attempted in every city in western Asia. None of these cities seems to have been so successful as Tarsus, in establishing a fairly harmonious balance between the two elements." It is from this fact that Sir William Ramsay tells us that "Tarsus was the city which should produce the Apostle to the Gentiles." "Only 'a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews' could be the Apostle of the perfected Judaic faith; but he must be born and brought up in childhood among the Gentiles, a citizen of a Gentile city, and a member of that conquering aristocracy of Romans which ruled all the cities of the Mediterranean world. The Apostle to the Gentiles must be a Jew, a Tarsian citizen (i.e., a Greek) and at the same time a Roman."

THE EMPIRE OF ROME.

Luke has been described as, "rather provocative as a historian," "provocative of criticism, and never in error." He is in constant touch with the great Roman Empire, its cities, its institutions, its governors and officers. Are these allusions accurate, or are they full of blunders?

The fascinating writings of Sir William Ramsay have answered this question. He has brought the test of archæology to bear upon it, and unhesitatingly places Luke "among the historians

* See "The Deciding Voice of the Monuments," p. 123.

† See "Biblical Guide," Vol. VIII.

of the first rank."* In his latest work, "The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament,"† he has taken us into his confidence and told us the series of events which brought about this complete change in his opinions; for he began as a disciple of the critical school and was "under the impression that the history [of the book of Acts] was written long after the events, and that it was untrustworthy as a whole."

The candour of such eminent scholars as Prof. Sayce and Sir William Ramsay in confessing their changed attitude towards the criticism of the Old Testament in the one case, and of the New Testament in the other, through the discoveries of archæology, goes far to prove the importance of that science and the value of its testimony.

Sir William Ramsay's life has been devoted to the study of Roman institutions in Asiatic Greece and the influence of Asia on the Græco-Roman administration; and it was there on the spot in the comparatively unexplored wilds of Asia Minor that he found his preformed opinions to be wrong. He found Luke's history to be "unsurpassed for its trustworthiness." No other traveller had left an account of the journeys he made across Asia Minor, the narrative of Paul's travels placed in his hands a document of unique and exceptional value to guide his investigations.

The fact which first opened his eyes was finding that Luke was correct—instead of, as was supposed, grievously mistaken—in stating that Paul and Barnabas fled over a frontier into Lycaonia from the city of Iconium, thereby implying that Iconium was not situated in the province of Lycaonia in the year 50 A.D., but that it was a city of Phrygia. A change of boundary was made early in the second century when Iconium was included in Lycaonia, and there ceased to be a frontier between Iconium and Lystra, thus proving that Acts xiv. 6 could not have been written later.

So small a fact as this changed Sir William Ramsay's whole outlook, and step by step he followed up the clue. "The evidence," he says, "to test all important history, and especially the Old and New Testaments, exists, and can be discovered with patience, knowledge, ingenuity and money."

"Every incident described in the Acts is just what might be expected in ancient surroundings. The officials with whom Paul and his companions were brought in contact are those who would be there. Every person is found just where he ought to be: proconsuls in senatorial provinces, asiarchs in Ephesus, strategoi in Philippi, politarchs in Thessalonica, magicians and soothsayers everywhere. . . . The variety is endless, as real life

* "Paul the Traveller," 1895, p. 4.

† p. 81.

is infinitely varied. . . . Legal proceedings are taken against Paul and his friends in many places, and accusations have to be made in each case according to the forms of Roman law. The accusation varies in each case; it is nowhere the same as in any other city; yet it is everywhere in accordance with Roman forms.* "In Jerusalem and Palestine Luke's language is far more Hebraistic in type, in Athens it has Attic flavour: in the Greek world generally Luke has the general dialect†. . . . The whole account of Paul before the Areopagus is expressed by Luke in the tone and style and language in which the action was transacted. . . . The scene is bathed in the light of Attic suns."§

But if Luke is provocative as a historian in the Acts, he is much more so in the opening words of the second chapter of his Gospel. In Luke ii. 1-3, "there are four statements about the action of the Roman Imperial Government which the critics of the New Testament pronounced to be incredible and false."*†

"The reason," Sir William Ramsay writes, "for the feeling of triumph on the part of many critics lay, of course, in the desire to discredit the superhuman element in history. Their hostility to Luke arose out of their refusal to admit the superhuman element in the government of the world."**

It was confidently declared that Augustus never ordered any general "enrolment," or census. That even if he did it would not have extended to Palestine. That even if a census had been held in Palestine it would not have been necessary for Joseph, and still less for Mary, to go up to their own city of Bethlehem to be enrolled; and, further, that Quirinus never governed Syria during the life of Herod.

From archæological discoveries in Egypt and in Asia Minor every one of the statements by Luke has been proved correct. "Discovery confirms the correctness of all the facts that Luke mentions regarding the census and its manner and its dates. . . .†† He gives us a very striking picture of a splendid piece of governmental work."***

Sir William Ramsay brings out the skill of Luke as a historian in contrasting the religion of freedom with the power of Imperial Rome, destined for centuries to contend with each other. "The man who cannot see the splendour of this passage must be blind to the spirit of history. Augustus, the mighty Emperor, and Mary, with her infant child, are set over against one another."†††

* "The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament," p. 97.

† p. 96.

§ p. 140.

*† p. 222.

** p. 225.

†† p. 235.

*** p. 248.

††† p. 306.

The surrounding facts are matters of history, and can be proved on historical evidence, but the inner truth moves on a higher plane, it proves itself to the soul of man. "No man can make historical investigation take the place of faith. . . . Yet it is not without its value to have the truth of the concomitant circumstances demonstrated. One must remember that Christianity did not originate in a lie, and that we can and ought to demonstrate this, as well as to believe it. . . . The evidence is there if we look for it."*

"It is an arresting fact that even in His birth the Founder of that religion is tossed hither and thither at the command of the Emperor. And with what result? Only the triumph of Jesus. His poor Mother must travel far to Bethlehem; and the Child was there born; but all that the Emperor achieved was to stamp the Child as the Fulfiller of prophecy and the promised Messiah. As in the death of Christ the sarcastic statement of His crime which Imperial policy placed over Him, was a placard blazoning Him to the world as the King of the Jews; so in His birth the Imperial order which drove the unborn Child to Bethlehem qualified Him to be the Governor, who should be the Shepherd of Israel."†

Thus, in considering the circumstances of the miraculous birth and of the death of our Saviour, we are brought back once more to the Holy Land, to Bethlehem and to Jerusalem. We have already seen that "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance. . . . He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the people of Israel." He set the little nation of Israel in the midst of the ancient world. But His Cross is the great central Fact. It was by no mere chance that Pilate was impelled to write the inscription in Hebrew and Greek and Latin—in Hebrew, the language of religion, in Greek, the language of learning, in Latin, the language of power. That Cross is still to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, but unto us who are being saved it is the power of God. Our Lord said, "For I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me."

As we look forward to the future, our expectation still centres on the Holy Land. For when "the Desire of all Nations" shall come, His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives which is before Jerusalem on the East, and in that Day the Lord shall be King over all the earth, and of His Kingdom there shall be no end.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS said:—We are indebted to Miss Hodgkin for gathering together facts which are known to many of us but are

* p. 236.

† p. 308.

apparently unknown to the so-called Higher Critics. These men seem like horses working in blinkers, occupied wholly with their subjective criticism and taking account neither of archæological discoveries, nor common sense, nor indeed of the opinions of any who deny their conclusions, whose views they wave aside by such expressions as "no scholar now maintains."

I should like to refer to the statement on page 205 that the original Babylonian civilisation was Hamitic, as also was the case with Egypt. If we compare the present representatives of the negro race with the achievements of that race in ancient times, whether in government or literature, we must recognise that the race has greatly declined. Evolutionists might well consider whether analogy drawn from this history does not prove that a similar decline awaits the other races of mankind. Apart from the Christian hope, the prospects of the human race are certainly not encouraging.

With reference to what Miss Hodgkin says on page 208 with regard to the atmosphere of the stories of the Pentateuch, I was noticing recently how Scott had failed in "Woodstock" to interpret the true character of Cromwell and the Puritans as now brought out by the researches of Carlyle, Gardiner and others. If this is true of the greatest of novelists writing only at a distance of 150 years from the time he is describing, how can we account for the scribes of the Babylonian captivity giving us what was the atmosphere of Egypt many centuries (according to the higher critics) before they wrote?

Referring, in conclusion, to pages 219 and 220, I should like to imagine the surprise of Augustus Cæsar had he been told that his chief title to immortality would lie in the fact of a certain peasant boy being born during his reign in a remote province of his empire, and that this birth would make his name familiar to millions who would never hear of his far greater uncle, Julius Cæsar. We may therefore well consider whether, among the events which are happening to-day, some little regarded may not prove to be of far greater permanent value than those which are now looked upon as important.

Pastor F. E. MARSH said:—Two honoured servants of Christ, the late Dr. Mendenhall, of America, and the late Dr. G. Gregory, kept a record of the theories propounded by the higher critics over a period of 50 years, and the latter has stated:—"Referring to the Pentateuch, 76 theories; referring to Historic Books, 116 theories; referring to Poetical Books, 108 theories; referring to major Prophets, 98; referring to minor Prophets, 144—Old Testament, 542. Referring to the Gospels, 41 theories; referring to The Acts, 12 theories; referring to St. Paul's Epistles, 103 theories; remaining books, 52—New Testament, 208; grand total, 750."

Of the 750, 603 are defunct, and many of the remaining 144 are in the last stages of degeneracy and dissolution. Meantime, we need not be troubled by their postulates, but keep to the positive voice of the Spirit. We cannot do better than keep to the Bible itself, for we are continually finding confirmations of its reliability and accuracy. Take

one illustration of the fulness of Bible words, namely, the Hebrew word for atonement, rendered "camphire" in the Song of Solomon (i. 14). We are told by preachers sometimes that atonement means at-one-ment, but, from the use of the word, we see it means to cover, as in Genesis vi. 17, where both the verb and noun are rendered "pitch." As the ark was covered within and without with pitch, so the believer in Christ is covered by His atoning sacrifice, as the Irish boy said, "God does not see me nor my sins, for I am covered by Christ's atonement." Reconciliation, or at-one-ment, is the outcome of the atonement, but the atonement of Christ is a work done for us, and that work is complete, perfect, eternal, satisfying, and independent of us.

Lieut.-Colonel G. MACKINLAY said :—The subject of the testimony of archæology to the Bible is of great importance, and Miss Hodgkin's paper is well up to date with its appeal to solid and indisputable facts, only made available during recent years.

I hope this paper will stir us all up to regard this subject more carefully and fully. Following the example of one of our senior Vice-Presidents, Canon Girdlestone, I would recommend two books, one fairly modern and the other quite recent. Both are by very distinguished and very learned men, and both are written in an interesting manner and easily understood by the general reader. Both are cheap; they are: "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies," by Prof. Sayce, 1904, published by the R.T.S., and "The Law of Moses," by Prof. Edouard Naville, of Geneva, translated into English with a preface by Dean Wace, 1922. Published by Thynne.

Miss Hodgkin gives many useful concrete examples of mistakes made by modernists during recent years which have been corrected by the results of archæological research, such as the objection that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, as it was thought that writing was not known when he lived, and that in his uncivilised times a code of laws could not have been brought out. We now know that inscribed clay documents were employed by the Babylonians long before the days of the Exodus. And the discovery of the laws of Khammu-rabi, at a date anterior to Moses, contradicts the other assertion of the modernists. She gives many other instances of the same nature, including several in the New Testament: it is striking that the investigation of the discarded contents of Egyptian rubbish-heaps have contradicted the conclusions of modern professors. Their disproved assertions are not now repeated; but unfortunately we do not hear acknowledgments of their mistakes.

Miss Hodgkin has a very decided gift of expressing her truths in an interesting and finished manner, and I strongly support the suggestion of Mr. Oke that this paper should be printed for general readers, and circulated as widely as possible.

I will now propose, by acclamation, a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Hodgkin for her valuable paper.

(Carried unanimously with applause.)

646th ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN THE CONFERENCE HALL, CENTRAL BUILDINGS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
ON MONDAY, JULY 3rd, 1922, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE VERY REV. HENRY WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury—President
of the Institute—in the Chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed, and signed, and the Hon. Secretary announced that the following had been elected since the last meeting:—As Members, G. Babington Michell, Esq., O.B.E., G. H. Judd, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.; as Life Associate, Albert Hiorth, Esq., C.E.; and as Associates, Miss Barbara P. Harper and Robert Duncan, Esq., M.B.E.

The Chairman then called on The Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Weldon, D.D., Dean of Durham, to deliver the annual address, on "Modernism."

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

MODERNISM.

BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP J. E. C. WELDON, D.D.,
DEAN OF DURHAM.

It is the fashion of the present day to disparage, if not to despise, the Victorian era. Yet the Victorian era was one of the great periods in British history. What names can the 20th century show or hope to show in comparison with such names as Peel, Gladstone, Disraeli, Bright, Tennyson, Browning, Dickens, Thackeray, Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, and George Eliot, Darwin, Hooker, Lyell, Adams, Kelvin and Lister, Newman, Keble, Pusey, Liddon, and Spurgeon, Leighton, Millais and Landseer, Davy and Stephenson. It has often been a surprise to me that the three reigns of women, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne and Queen Victoria, should have been signalised by the most conspicuous achievements in war and in peace, in literature and in science. Queen Victoria's reign is not unworthy to stand beside, although in time so long after, Queen Elizabeth's.

But the feature which above all others distinguishes the Victorian age is man's ever-increasing command over Nature. It will be enough to enumerate some few of the scientific discoveries which then enriched human nature and life, such as the locomotive steam engine, cheap literature, photography, electricity, and

as its results the electric telegraph and telephone, the safety lamp, the spectroscope, anæsthetic and antiseptic medicines, the motor car, the aeroplane, and, last of all, the cinema. I can think of no fact more remarkable than that the means of locomotion should have remained virtually unchanged from the age of the Pharaohs to the age of Queen Victoria, and that then within one generation the civilised world should have passed, as the late Lady Dorothy Nevill was fond of saying it had passed in her own experience, from stage-coaches to aeroplanes.

The consequence has been that the Victorian era, and indeed the whole 19th century, has come to be generally regarded as the age of scientific discovery. It is science which has given the age a peculiar name and fame; it is science which has stamped upon the age a special character.

I have sometimes thought that the spirit of science in the 19th century invaded territories which are not properly its own. Thus, science affected literature. Literature is not a science but an art. It is in its nature selective, not exhaustive. Like painting or sculpture it chooses its subjects with a discriminating taste. An accurate portraiture of a dunghill is not artistic; it is the very denial or the contradiction of art. But science admits no reserves, no delicacies. Whatever is or appears to be the truth, science must find it out and speak it out. Its one object is knowledge; it scorns the veil which art throws over knowledge. Even in biography it aims at recording a man's whole life from his birth to his death; not an act of his, not a speech, I had almost said not a letter is omitted. What a contrast is presented by the ancient masterpieces of biography, *e.g.*, by the *Agricola* of Tacitus; may I not reverently add, by the Gospels themselves! The author of the fourth Gospel concludes his narrative by telling of the many other things which Jesus did, "the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose," he says, "that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written," but he does not tell them, and although he does not tell them, his Gospel has enthralled the interest of the world.

Again, science has invaded the province of morals. It is well to consider that creeds are the parents of deeds. Fifty years ago it was commonly assumed that, whatever might be the processes of human thought, morality, like civilisation, was immutably assured. But what is morality? It is impossible to judge the moral effects of one intellectual or spiritual order by the lives of men who have been educated under another. Society is not uniform all the world over; there is a Mohammedan society, a Hindu society, a Buddhist society as well as a Christian society. But Christian society cannot exist apart from the Gospel and the Person of Jesus Christ. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." The hand-marks of Christen-

dom He ordained, He established and He alone maintains and upholds. It is not difficult to-day to observe how, in such degree as the nations of Europe reject or neglect His authority, they drift, as in instances like the sanctity of marriage and the purity of the home-life, into a moral system which is different from His and may be opposite to His, and which, if it remains, must stand upon some other basis or principle than His.

• The survival of the fittest as an article of the Darwinian faith is the antithesis to the Christian benediction of the poor, the humble, the suffering, the afflicted. It is not a moral doctrine at all. The late Professor Huxley saw and in his Romanes lecture owned that it did not, and could not, justify Christian morality. For it means the triumph of the strong, it means the suppression of the weak; it means the worship of the super-man or the super-nation—that worship which has made Germany the curse of the world. Nietzsche in his wildest hours sinned only by applying the Darwinian theory to international life. To-day the civilised nations of the world exhibit a reaction towards Christian morals. The Conference at Washington, and, indeed, the League of Nations, is a rebuke to the theory of the mailed fist. It seems as though by a striking paradox the triumph of Christ's moral law in international life is beginning just when it seems to be failing in social and even in personal life. But be it so or not so, there can be no doubt as to the absolute difference between the law of science and the law of the Gospel; and the law of morality, as Christians have always understood it, depends not upon science, but upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The spirit of science then, or of natural science, as it is sometimes called, was in the 19th century triumphant. Its incursion into the domain of letters and morals was an unmistakable evidence of its triumph. In its new-born pride it set no limit to its authority. The new heaven and the new earth of which men had dreamed, or at least the new earth, would, it was assumed, be created by the inventions of scientific research. Science, looking upon the world as it had been and as it was, conceived the audacious idea of revolutionising all the many activities of human thought.

It was in this spirit that science attacked the problems of ancient history. Literary criticism began to breathe a scientific air. For science does not merely observe and collate facts; it often asserts a hypothesis, which is itself a bold effort of imagination; then it examines whether the facts do or do not agree with the hypothesis, and, if they do agree, it accepts the hypothesis as true. That was the way in which Descartes dealt with his theory of vortices; Copernicus with his of the revolution of the heavenly bodies; Newton with his of gravitation. There is no

doubt that science in its loftiest flights, no less than art, demands the exercise of the imaginative faculty. The literary criticism of which I am speaking found its proper home in Germany; for the Germans, as Madame de Stael long ago saw, are more keenly addicted to theories, and more strongly affected by them, than any other European nation. Wolf set to work upon the dissolution and reconstruction of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He broke up each of these poems into a number of disjointed ballads; then he recombined them in the name of Homer; but his Homer was no more than a mere name. The extraordinary effect of Wolf's treatise was due to its coincidence with the new spirit or temper of literary science. Then Niebuhr followed suit by attempting to re-write all the early chapters of Roman history. He believed himself capable of discriminating between truth and falsehood in that history. He traced it backwards to a number of ballads corresponding with the Wolfian ballads or rhapsodies, such ballads as Macaulay tried to reproduce in his well-known *Lays of Ancient Rome*. How far Niebuhr attained success or failed in attaining it is still an open question; but it is probable that the reaction against his conclusions has been stronger than against his methods of arriving at them. Still the history of ancient Rome according to Niebuhr is not the traditional history, but something widely different, and that something determined by literary criticism acting upon the principles of natural science.

Time passed, and it brought the inevitable consequence. The spirit of re-writing poetry or history passed from Homer and Livy to the Bible, and especially to the Old Testament. In its first representatives, men like Eichhorn and Ewald, it assumed a form of reasonable moderation; but the transition from them to Wellhausen and Weizsäcker marks its progress towards extravagance; for as it acquired fresh courage, it aimed at re-writing, I might almost say at inverting, the history of the Jews. There was really no limit to its audacity. It was not content with splitting books like the Pentateuch or Hexateuch into fragments after the manner of Wolf's ballads; but at the hands of such a critic as the late Dr. Cheyne it aspired to fix the dates not only of particular books, but of particular chapters and even verses in the same book. Dr. Cheyne's method of treating the Psalter and the prophetic books falls little short of insanity. Germany was the centre of the new critical school, which somehow arrogated to itself the title of the higher criticism; and in Germany itself the centre of the school was Tübingen. Nobody denies the industry or the acumen of Ferdinand Christian Baur. But nobody to-day, I think, accepts his theory of the Pauline epistles. Yet the professors of Holland and Switzerland could not or would not lag behind the professors of Germany. Leyden and Zürich became the rivals of Tübingen. The zenith or the nadir of literary

criticism was reached, I suppose, in the Encyclopædia Biblica, especially in those articles in which Dr. Schmiedel practically repudiated every passage and verse of the four Gospels, except half-a-dozen expressions which happened to coincide with his own arbitrary conception of our Lord's Personality.

In my estimate of this wild literary criticism I do not profess to speak as a theologian; I speak as a scholar. It has been my fortune during many years to be concerned with classical scholarship; and I say there is not among classical scholars in Great Britain, if there is to-day even in Germany, one who would pretend to solve the problems of Greek and Roman literature upon the principles—if, indeed, they deserve to be called principles—of the higher criticism as applied to the Old and the New Testament. Nobody, except perhaps Father Hardouin, the Jesuit, who disbelieved in the authenticity of all or nearly all the writings which have come down to the modern world since the Renaissance under the names of the well-known Greek and Roman authors, has rivalled the audacity of the Modernists. It is easy to show, and in some essays which I wrote a good many years ago I think I did show, that the evidence for the books, at least of the New Testament, is considerably stronger than the evidence for the books of classical antiquity. But in the study of the Bible I was brought up at the feet of men, honoured and revered, who were far removed from the spirit of the higher criticism, men like Westcott and Lightfoot and Hort; and from them I learned that the office of true critics is not to indulge their fancies in speculation upon the words which a person living many centuries ago would have been likely to use, not to accept some of his recorded words and to reject others according to the canons of personal taste, but to search and weigh the evidence for his words and to accept or not accept them according as the evidence is sufficient or insufficient, and then to put upon the words so accredited the interpretation naturally suggested by common sense. External evidence, not subjective impression, was the law of literary criticism as those great masters enforced it. And, indeed, if subjective criticism once usurps control in literature, where will be the end? One critic, who can know little of human nature, will tell you that the same Psalmist could not experience the alternating moods of enthusiasm and depression or even of joy and sadness, as if the poet Cowper had not written both *The Strange Adventure of John Gilpin* and *The Castaway*. Other critics will tell you that our Lord could not have spoken of the Church or have ordained Baptism in the name of the sacred Trinity, or that He could not have uttered His eschatological prophecies, nay, that He could not have spoken the parable of the Prodigal Son. I say, and I say advisedly, that, if subjective criticism is a sound principle of Biblical exegesis, the Gospels

as credible authorities disappear, and the Person of our Lord, as the Church has believed and adored Him, vanishes. So competent a judge of history and so impartial a judge of Christian history as the late Sir John Seeley has declared, in *Ecce Homo*, that, if the miraculous element in the life of our Lord is expunged from the Gospels, He becomes a person no less mythical than Hercules. But if the Jesus Christ of the Gospels is destroyed, who and what remains? I think I may claim to have read every or almost every life of Jesus Christ which has been written in the last hundred years; and there is not one of them which, if it is naturalistic, is to my mind, satisfactory. For if it is possible to criticise the Gospels, it is possible to disbelieve them; but the one thing which is a sheer impossibility is to re-write them.

It is one of the paradoxes which were accepted in European life before the great war that the Germans were tacitly, if not expressly, acknowledged to be the intellectual leaders of Europe. Germany advertised itself; Germany eulogised itself; and, because the Germans had three times proved themselves to be efficient in the art of war, they were assumed to be efficient in all other arts. But the Germans, although they are industrious, have never been a very clever people. A comparison between France and Germany, whether in literature or art or science or even in spirituality, will at once demonstrate the superiority of the French. Yet certain schools of English divines seemed to hang with breathless suspense upon the pronouncements of German theology. When Dr. Harnack published his book upon the authorship of the Acts of the Apostles, a book not containing, I think, a single argument which had not been advanced by English writers before him, his admission that the author was a medical man, and that medical man St. Luke, was acclaimed as a triumph of orthodoxy. But German theologians are strangely ignorant of all such critical or exegetical work as has been done outside Germany. What is to be said of Professor Julicher, who can discuss the commentators upon the fourth Gospel without mentioning Bishop Westcott; or the commentators upon St. Paul's Epistles without mentioning Bishop Lightfoot? Nay, in the field of Christian apologetics so great a name as Bishop Butler's is practically unknown to Germany.

But the circumstances of intellectual and still more of academic life in Germany have tended in a remarkable degree to the production of heretical, and I may say extravagant, writings. Whenever freedom of thought is prohibited in politics, it tends to run riot elsewhere. It is pretty sure to be guilty of excess in literature, above all in theology. Before the war it was a capital offence to say a word against the Kaiser; but any one who was

a professor or, indeed, any one who was not a professor could say whatever he liked to say against Jesus Christ. It is probable that every nation, like every individual, is partly Conservative, partly Radical; and, as in Great Britain political Radicals have not seldom been Conservatives in academical or social life, so the military discipline of Germany was counter-balanced by its speculative liberty. It was generally expected that a student of theology looking forward to a professorial career would signalise himself by some novelty of hypothesis in the dissertation which he submitted with a view to his academical degree. Such a student could easily achieve an ephemeral success, as indeed students have achieved it in Great Britain, by collecting all the available evidence in support of his novel theory and ignoring all the evidence which told against it.

A familiar proverb indicates the danger of failing to see the wood because of the trees. The higher critics are or would appear to be at times so deeply occupied in watching for small particular features, such as contradictions or omissions, in a literary work that they lose sight of the effect which the work as a whole is calculated to produce. Let me then cite two features of commanding significance.

One is the history of the Jewish people. It is a history without parallel, without rival in the world. The few historians, such as the late Mr. Goldwin Smith, who in their love of paradox have tried to prove that the Jews are only one among a good many outcast and nomad peoples, have signally failed. There is not, nor has there even been nor will there in all probability ever be, a people comparable with the Jews in their historical continuity, their isolation, their privileges, their sufferings, their world-wide dispersion, their peculiarity of aspect and custom, and their complete refusal of assimilation to other peoples. Still as ever, in accordance with the prophetic words, they "dwell alone" and are "not reckoned among the nations." But Jewish history is inseparable from Jewish literature. The Jews have been the most vigilant custodians of their own sacred books. They have literally guarded every jot and tittle of them all. They have gladly endured persecution, martyrdom, rather than compromise the authority or the sanctity of those books. Let their adherence to the Sabbath Day, to the Passover, and to the distinction between clean and unclean meats be my witness. I sometimes think that God has providentially kept the Jewish nation alive, that it may by its very existence confirm the substantial truth of the Old Testament. For if the literature of Judaism falls, what is the truth of the Jewish people? If there was no migration of Abraham, no sojourn in Egypt, no conquest of the land which is called holy

alike by Jews, by Christians and by Mohammedans; no captivity in Babylon, no age-long anticipation of the Messiah, then who are the Jews? Whence came they? What is the truth of their history? I venture to assert that, if the stories of the Patriarchs in the Book of Genesis are not extremely ancient stories, however the Book of Genesis may have assumed its present form, they defy every test of literary criticism. But it is not credible that the Jews should be and should always have been mistaken as to the character or the origin of their own sacred books. Does anybody tell me that the Jews misconceived the relative dates of the Pentateuch and the Prophecies? You might as well tell me that an Englishman could suppose Tennyson to be a poet of an earlier date than Spenser or Chaucer. The Jews knew, and they must have known, better than any German critic, which of their sacred books represented an earlier, and which a later, stage of their national history. I do not insist upon the details of a literature so ancient as the Hebrew; but to me it seems that the Jews are sufficient witnesses to their own literature, as that literature is to the anticipation of the Messiah and the advent of Jesus Christ is to the fulfilment of that anticipation.

The fact is that the existence of the Jewish people confirms the Old Testament as the existence of the Christian Church confirms the New Testament. It has been well said, and it should always be borne in mind, that the Church preceded the Gospels. If the Gospels and the Epistles and all the sacred writings of the New Testament were blotted out, it would still be necessary to account for the origin of the Christian Church. There are people who talk as if no task on earth were easier than the foundation of a Church. Why, there are only three great progressive religions in the world; and they are all properly Oriental. The West, with all its pride of achievement, has never been able to originate a religion. How, then, was the Christian Church born? How did it lift its head among its enemies? How did it conquer the civilised nations of Greece and Rome? Everybody who knows Gibbon's famous five explanatory causes of Christianity knows that the judgment of a great historian may be warped by an unhappy prejudice. The Church of Christ dates back to Christ Himself. If He was human, it may fail; if He is Divine, it cannot fail. He has not promised that it shall not be wounded, stricken almost to death; but He has promised that it shall not die.

Jesus Christ Himself is a unique figure in the history of mankind. There is none like Him; there is no second to Him. He is the undisputed head of the whole human family. His whole life, as the Gospels record it, passes on a superhuman

plane. His words are no less miraculous than His works. For what is the use of denying that He walked on the sea or healed the sick or gave sight to the blind or even raised the dead to life, if it is true that He lived Himself without sin, that He forgave the sins of others, that He could minister comfort to all the weary and heavy-laden souls of earth, above all that He shall come again in the glory of His Father and the holy angels to be the Judge of all the living and the dead?

There is a danger that Modernism, like Agnosticism, may forget certain positive laws of human nature. One of them, in the domain of religion, is that, if a person does not hold one belief, he does and must practically hold the opposite belief. Belief is not a mathematical certainty; it is the choice of one among two or more possibilities; it is the inclination of the logical scale to one side or the other. Tenyson was fond of saying, "It is difficult to believe, but it is more difficult not to believe." He meant, for example, that the theistic position, difficult though it might be, was less difficult than the atheistic position. Agnosticism may not unfairly be described as intellectual cowardice, if not as intellectual impotence, because it refuses to pronounce a judgment in a domain where it is essential that a rational being such as man is should be a judge. It is impossible that such a being, finding himself placed in a universe so orderly yet so wonderful as it is, should refrain from asking himself, How did it come into existence? Who was its author and what is his relation to myself and to all other human beings? For if a man does not believe that there is a God, he believes that there is no God. If he does not act as believing in God, then he acts as disbelieving in God. Similarly, if a man does not believe that Jesus Christ was Divine as well as human, he believes, or practically believes, that Jesus Christ was only human. Then he discards from his creed the supreme qualities which distinguish Jesus Christ from men who are only men. He discards also the supreme obligation of humanity to Jesus Christ. The Modernist, I think, is open to the same criticisms. He will tell you what he does not believe; he will suggest grounds of doubt if not of disbelief; but he will not tell you what he does believe. Yet if he refuses to believe in the Virgin birth of Jesus Christ, then he believes that Jesus Christ was born of human parents in the natural order. If he does not believe that Jesus Christ rose in His bodily presence from the grave, then he believes that the body of Jesus Christ mouldered in the grave. If he does not believe that Jesus Christ left the earth by a mysterious process which is theologically called the Ascension into Heaven, then he believes that Jesus Christ still lives only in the sense in which all men who have ever been born, or at least all the redeemed of Christ, live also after death. It may be admitted that the phrase,

"He ascended into Heaven," like the phrase "He descended into Hell," is metaphorical, but at least the metaphor enshrines a vital truth. I have sometimes thought that, if Jesus Christ was seen alive after His resurrection by His disciples as the Gospels narrate, then no account of His passing from the earth could be more probable than that of the simple words "A cloud received Him out of their sight." At all events, the Modernists, standing face to face with the orthodox faith and creed of the Church, cannot justly maintain an attitude of neutrality; they cannot say, as Professor Gardner says in his *Exploratio Evangelica*, that "the open grave presents a problem which objective criticism can never solve." For as the Jewish people survive to attest the general truth of the Old Testament, so the Christian Church survives to attest the general truth of the New Testament. It is not the New Testament but the Church which is the standing witness to Christianity. The Church would exist if no single book of the New Testament were existent to-day. Nay, the Church lies always behind the New Testament, behind the Gospels themselves. For nothing is more remarkable than that the faith, as appears in all the New Testament, is always and everywhere the same; St. Paul in his Epistles shows no need of recommending the faith in its fundamental articles to his converts, wherever they may be; but the faith is one and the Church is one everywhere, and there is everywhere one and the same attitude of devotion to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.

There is reason to think that Modernists tend to misrepresent or at least to misunderstand the nature of the Scriptural language, especially in the Old Testament. God is frequently depicted there under the conditions of human nature. It is perhaps inconceivable during the childhood or youth of humanity that He should be depicted in any other way. But the language of such representation has long ceased to be literally accepted. No intelligent Jew can have imagined that God rose from His bed early in the morning; no such Jew can have supposed the mighty hand and the stretched-out arm of God to be other than figurative expressions. Nobody can have taken the breath or the fire of His nostrils to be a literal fact. Similarly in the New Testament our Lord's Ascension into Heaven, like His descent into Hades, was a phrase symbolical of a certain spiritual experience; it was not a physical reality. Even to-day it is no less natural to speak of Heaven as over our heads, and Hell as beneath our feet, than it is to speak of the sun as rising in the morning and setting in the evening. The doctrine which represents our Lord as sitting at His heavenly Father's side or at His right hand no more implies that God possesses a side than that He possesses a hand or an arm like a man. But if such

expressions, as I have quoted were figurative or metaphorical, or just because they were figurative, or metaphorical, they implied a reality lying behind them. The wrath of God was not less an awful verity because it did not show itself in His mantling cheek and His burning eyes. The figure, it is true, disappeared; yet the fact remained. But, according to the Modernist theory of the Virgin birth and the Ascension and the Resurrection, what does remain? Is it anything which distinguishes Jesus Christ from the generality of mankind or anything which accounts for His personal influence upon His disciples or for the creation and diffusion of His Church? It is impossible to help feeling that there is all the difference between a metaphor which, like a veil, covers a solemn truth and a metaphor which covers nothing at all. The Resurrection may or may not have taken place, as it is recorded to have taken place in all the Gospels; but if it did not so take place, how did the earthly life of Jesus Christ differ in its ending from the life of any other human being? The Ascension, too, may or may not have taken place, as it is recorded to have taken place in the Gospels; but if not, how can Jesus Christ be said to be living now in any other sense than that in which all men live after their deaths, and how is He able to succour His Christians as He succoured St. Stephen in the hour of His martyrdom? How, too, is it legitimate or possible to offer Him the homage of worship and prayer?

Yet again the Modernists must, I am afraid, be said to deceive themselves, and at times to deceive other people, by an unnatural use of language. They freely speak of Jesus Christ as Divine; they resent somewhat angrily, as the Dean of Carlisle has resented, the imputation that they do not believe in His Divinity. But when they speak of His Divinity, what do they mean by it? Do they mean that He is Divine only in the sense of being supremely excellent, as Raphael may be called a divine painter or Shakespeare a divine poet? Or do they mean that He stood in a relation in which no other person who has lived upon earth has ever stood to Almighty God? Was He in fact only a Son of God, as all men are His sons, or was He in a unique sense *the* Son of God?

It is here that the Modernists seem to me to occupy much the same ground as the Positivists a generation ago. For the Positivists, while they denied the truth of Christianity, were only too eager to employ Christian formulas and Christian phrases. The service which used to be conducted by the late Dr. Congreve in the so-called Church of Humanity in Lamb's Conduit Street in London, was almost a parody of the Liturgy of the Church of England. The grace of humanity, the love of humanity, and the fellowship of humanity stood instead

of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost.

The Positivists profess, like the Christians, a belief in immortality; but the immortality of the Positivists is not such an immortality as Christians have always conceived, i.e., the unending survival of personality. It is no more than an immortality of remembrance; and such an immortality, so far from being a guarantee for the reward of the good, and the punishment of the evil in the future life, lies and must lie open to the suspicion that posterity may forget and ignore its benefactors, or may never recognise who they had been, or, worst of all, may misjudge its enemies or its benefactors, as often happens in life, and may even mistake its benefactors for its enemies.

It is well that writers and speakers should deal honestly with themselves and with the world. Words, as Bacon hinted long ago, are only too likely to recoil upon the persons who use them. Nothing is gained, and everything may be lost, if the representatives of different modes of thought use the same language, but use it in wholly different senses.

It may be worth while to say a word upon the question of evidence. For critics of the Bible and of the revelation which the Bible enshrines do not seem always to treat the question of evidence fairly. It is, of course, possible to declare, in the spirit of Hume's famous canon, that miracles cannot occur or cannot deserve to be believed, because it is more probable that the evidence for a miracle should be false than that the miracle itself should be true. But such a declaration, if it is made, is tantamount to a denial of God; for if there is a living God, there can be no doubt that He can, if He will, alter or affect the course of Nature, or, to speak more accurately, He can reveal the course of Nature in a new light. The theory of Einstein, if it is accepted, is a departure from the theory of Sir Isaac Newton or a modification of his theory in relation to the natural universe. For a miracle may be not contrary to Nature, but, as Augustine defines it, contrary to Nature as man has hitherto conceived Nature. But upon Hume's canon a miracle, *if it is a hypothesis* it should occur, could not be believed. No evidence would be sufficient to prove it. If so, then the argument that the evidence is insufficient to justify belief is hardly straightforward, when no evidence possible or imaginable would be sufficient to prove it. A good many years ago I asked a distinguished agnostic professor in the University of Cambridge what amount of evidence would satisfy him that such an event as our Lord's Resurrection had taken place. He did not answer, and I do not think he could answer my question. But two points are easily established. One is that the evidence for the authenticity of the books of the New Testament is far stronger than the

corresponding evidence for the authenticity of the books of classical literature. The other is that the critics of the Bible and of the New Testament particularly are sometimes disposed to acquiesce in comparatively slight evidence for a scientific theory and to demand unreasonably strong evidence for the story of the Gospel. I do not profess to speak as a man of science; but I have long felt that the absence of the missing link, as it has been called, *i.e.*, the gap occurring between man and the anthropoid ape or the animal next in order to him, just at the point where the gap ought most easily to be bridged, as it might be anticipated that the animals next in chronological order to man would, next to man himself, be the most frequently discoverable, is a weakness in the evolutionary doctrine. The Piltdown skull, although I was present when a learned professor expounded its significance to the British Association, was and is in my eyes an unsubstantial basis for the elaborate superstructure which was built upon it. But what is to be said now when the world of science has been lately called to reconstruct its doctrine of man's origin and his history upon the strength of one decayed tooth which has come to light in the wilds of the North American Continent or elsewhere. I do not wish to prejudice scientific evidence. I only ask that it may not be wholly different in quality and quantity from the evidence demanded in the domain of literature. There is, in fact, only one outstanding miracle, and that is the Person of Jesus Christ. It is impossible, I think, to mistake His personal claim. If His own words respecting His own nature and office are accepted as true, then it cannot be denied that He asserted His own superiority to the conditions and limitations of ordinary human life. But every student of the Gospels must recognise the necessity of accounting for the extraordinary influence of Jesus Christ upon His disciples. That a poor Galilean peasant should have conquered both the Jewish theocracy and the Roman imperial polity is a marvel in itself. But how did He win His disciples? Why did they at once obey His summons? and how did He inspire them with the enthusiasm of which the Acts of the Apostles is an abiding witness? The more Jesus Christ is divested of His superhuman authority, the more difficult of explanation becomes His success in founding the one universal religion upon earth.

There is, in fact, only one miracle; it is Jesus Christ Himself. His life has been written in the four Gospels, above all, in the three Synoptic Gospels. It may be true or false, but it cannot be written again; and Modernists, if they seek to re-write it, will be driven to the necessity of discarding in a wholly arbitrary spirit, all such works and words of His as do not accord with their preconceived idea of His Person.

The Incarnation of Jesus Christ is indeed a miracle; nay, it is the miracle of miracles. But, if it is believed, it carries with it the possibility of other miracles, especially the miracles of His own life. It would be wrong to pretend that these miracles are all supported by equal evidence or all equally affect His Divinity. There can be no reason why criticism should not carefully scrutinise the documents which attest His miracles. His Resurrection is clearly more important to the Christian Church, and therefore to the Christian faith, than His birth of a Virgin Mother. But Christians, who believe His Incarnation, will not be prone to disbelieve His Virgin birth; for the lesser miracle is, as it were, involved in the greater. *Mirabilis mirabiliter natus est*, as Augustine says; His birth was miraculous, because He was Himself miraculous. The denial of His miracles, then, is so far, but only so far, serious, as it imports the denial of His Divinity. It is a fair demand, then, that a writer or thinker who rejects the miracle of the Incarnation, and therefore rejects all other miracles of Christ's life, because he rejects the miraculous element in human nature no less than in Nature itself, should explicitly state his position.

But Modernism, in so far as it assimilates Jesus Christ to common humanity, entails a loss of which Modernists seem to be often unaware. The new interpretation of the Christian creeds may be said to eviscerate them of their spiritual value. Not seldom it is more destructive than Socinianism, at least the Socinianism of Faustus Socinus himself. For if the pre-existence of Jesus Christ before His human birth is denied, then the Incarnation is not a voluntary act of self-humiliation evincing the Divine sympathy with human kind. If the superhuman powers of Jesus Christ are denied, then His life loses the impressive dignity of the self-restraint which made Him unwilling to use for Himself the powers which He used, although under severe limitation, for others. If His crucifixion was inevitable, or, in other words, if He had no power to lay down His life and to take it again, or if the legions of angels would not at His bidding have sped to His deliverance, then the sacrifice upon the Cross is robbed of the spell which has in all the Christian centuries appealed to the hearts and transfigured the lives of innumerable men and women. If there was no Resurrection, and His body when it had been laid in the earth remained there like the bodies of all other human beings, then His Church was built upon a chimera, and it becomes necessary to account for the motive which within a few days converted His disciples from apostates into apostles, and nerved them with a strength, a zeal, a confidence, and a devotion adequate to the evangelisation of the world.

To conclude my paper, then; I believe that Modernism is a retrograde and not a progressive movement. I believe that it tends to materialise man's view of the universe, at a time when science itself is beginning to spiritualise that view. I believe that it is inconsistent with the realities both of Jewish and of Christian history. I believe that it is critically unscientific, as it is religiously undevotional. And I believe that Christianity must be understood and embraced either in the sense of the ancient Catholic creeds, or that it cannot be understood and embraced at all.

The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, voiced the general feeling of the meeting by emphasising the value and importance of the paper, to which he added weighty words of confirmation. This vote was seconded by the Rev. Prebendary Fox and passed by acclamation.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was then proposed by Dr. A. T. Schofield.

Lieut.-Colonel Mackinlay said, I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to our Chairman. Bishop Welldon has given us a very admirable paper to-day, we are thankful for his scholarship and for his adherence to the plain straightforward meaning of the words of the Bible. We are most thankful also to Dean Wace, the Chairman of the day, and now our honoured President. The weighty words of the two, to whom we have listened to-day, give a very practical denial to the shallow criticisms of some who say that those who hold to the old beliefs are either ignorant and unlearned, or else intellectually dishonest.

Dean Wace has helped the Victoria Institute very much for many years as one of our Vice-Presidents, and now he has crowned his efforts for us by accepting the office of President. His career is well known. I have been in the habit for the past year or two of reading to a blind clergyman, and some months ago he selected Dean Wace's searching replies to Professor Huxley's fallacies. These were written a good many years ago, but they are still most valuable, as the situation nowadays with the Professors is very similar to what it then was with Huxley. The Dean has ever since valiantly and learnedly contended successfully for the truth, and he has courageously opposed those who have given way to the uncertain changing beliefs of the day.

We rejoice that we have such a President, who is endowed with spiritual-mindedness, influence, learning, common sense and a saving sense of humour; may he be long spared to fill his important and responsible post. Let us all loyally support him, and may the Lord abundantly bless all his efforts.





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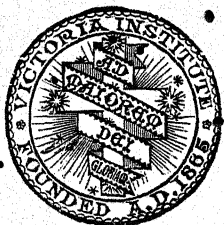
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